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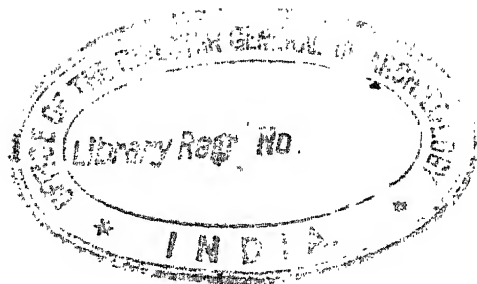
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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW



JULY 2, 1917

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

### AGRICULTURAL TENURES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

BY SIR DUNCAN COLVIN BAILLIE, K.C.S.I.

25508

IN considering the economic and social circumstances of India the two most salient facts to notice are the intense pressure of population and the essentially rural character of that population. To take as an example the provinces with which this paper deals, the total area is somewhat over 100,000 square miles, and the population forty-seven millions. Of this area a considerable proportion—at least fifteen per cent.—is mountainous country which can carry only a comparatively small population.

The general incidence of population in the fully populated part of the provinces is well over 500 per square mile. In the western districts the average density is as a rule below 500. In the eastern it reaches 1,000. It is all over more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as much as the incidence in France, and approximates to the incidence of countries like England or Belgium, in which manufactures and commerce are highly developed. In the United Provinces, on the contrary, as throughout India, the vast bulk of the population is rural—eleven per cent. only are residents in towns; in that term



being included all areas of an approximately urban character, even though the total population may only be a few hundreds. It seems to me obvious that, to render possible any great improvement in the general standard of comfort amongst so dense a population, economic changes of a far-reaching character are necessary, and that social changes of a no less far-reaching character must occur. India as a purely agricultural country cannot, all possible improvement and extension of cultivation being allowed for, carry with a European standard of comfort anything like the burden of population or the rate of increase of population which the present economic and social system imposes on her. These are, however, considerations outside our subject for to-night. Also outside it, though less widely so, are the improvements possible in the system of agriculture—the extensions of cultivation and irrigation, the improvement of the standard crops grown, and many other measures which appear possible and for the benefit of the agricultural population. What I propose to discuss now is the incidents connected with the tenures of the agriculturists of the province, the relations between the classes which, including the Government, derive revenue from the soil and the actual producers. The remarks already made as to the pressure of population are by no means irrelevant. Before any idea as to what is required can be formed it is necessary to bear in mind that we have to deal with areas occupied by an extraordinarily dense population, dependent entirely, or in the main, on agriculture. For every acre of cultivated area in the western districts there is at least one person to be supported, for every acre of cultivation in the east at least one and a half persons. These persons, too, are not, as in England, for the most part labourers working for a proportionately small number of tenant-farmers or cultivating proprietors. The number of agricultural labourers who hold no land is small as compared with those who have land of their own. Roughly, for every six persons wholly or partly dependent on their own land, only one person is a landless labourer, or dependent on a landless labourer. It is obvious that in these

circumstances competition for land must be intense, and that, unrestrained, rent would tend to rise to an extent which would be disastrous to the already low standard of comfort of the agricultural classes. I think that all, whatever may be their views as to Indian tenant law, must agree so far. There are many who hold that for the necessary restraint we can depend to a considerable extent on the wisdom, the self-restraint, and the unselfishness of the landholding class. I am not amongst these. We have had in the history of the provinces during the British administration, and in the present circumstances of a large part of the provinces, evidence, accepted in the past and undeniable in the present, that legislative restraint and legislative regulation is necessary in regard to all the incidents of the peasant cultivator's tenure. It is essential that provisions of the legislation should provide for (1) security of tenure, (2) regulation of rent, (3) facilities for improvements, and the enjoyment of the benefit of improvements by the persons who make them.

I would add a fourth head—the preservation of prescriptive rights—a subject which has obtained in the past far less attention than it deserves.

In considering how far the existing law secures these essentials, a wide difference exists between the position in the province of Agra and the province of Oudh. In both provinces when British administration was introduced there was a demand for tenants in excess of the demand for land. As a consequence there was little disturbance of tenants' possession and every desire on the part of the landholder to retain suitable tenants. Their customary rights were little interfered with, and as a consequence ill defined; but in Agra the summary orders passed by early district officers show that even in the earliest days of our rule it was recognized that settled tenants should be protected by the State in the possession of their lands. A succession of regulations and Acts were from time to time enacted defining the rights of tenants and culminating in the existing Tenancy Act, enacted in Sir Antony (now Lord) Macdonell's tenure of the

Lieut.-Governorship. As a consequence a large proportion of the Agra tenants are well protected.

There are under the Agra Tenancy Act five classes of tenants: (a) permanent tenure holders; (b) fixed rate tenants; (c) ex-proprietary tenants; (d) occupancy tenants; and (e) non-occupancy tenants, the last mentioned class including tenants who hold under-leases for a fixed period and tenants who cultivate "sir"—that is, land specially reserved for the occupation of the landholder if he wishes to cultivate himself, as well as all sub-tenants.

Rights of the first two classes are confined to the permanently settled districts, and are of comparatively small extent, some 727,000 acres in all. Such tenants, and such tenants only, have transferable rights. Their rate of rent is, like the revenue, fixed in perpetuity. As a result of the right to transfer, no small part of the fixed rate area is now held by persons who do not cultivate themselves, but enjoy the difference between the small fixed rate rental, fixed over a hundred years ago, and the rack-rent they are able to recover from their sub-tenants.

Ex-proprietary rights extend to 484,000 acres. They are of the nature of a provision made for proprietors whose land has been sold by the reservation to them of a right of occupancy in their "sir" land and in land cultivated by them for the twelve years preceding the sale. Except as regards the fixation of the rent the incidents of this tenure are similar to those of occupancy tenures. The rent is fixed at four annas in the rupee below non-occupancy rents, and tends under present conditions to exceed occupancy rent—a position which was certainly not contemplated by the framers of the Act, and which calls for amendment.

There remain the occupancy and non-occupancy tenants. According to the latest figures I have seen, occupancy tenants hold with rights recognized in the records 9,336,000 acres and 4,399,000 acres held for twelve years, but not yet recognized as occupancy in the record courts. In all, 11,735,000 acres are held with occupancy rights, and without occupancy rights, under seven-year leases, 882,000; without

leases, 6,362,000; in all, 7,244,000 acres. There are also probably over two millions of acres held direct from the landholders by cultivators as tenants of "sir." In all, three and a half millions of acres are landholders' "sir" in which no occupancy rights can accrue. There can be little hesitation in accepting as just the reservation to a landholder of a suitable area which he can at any time bring under his own cultivation. The area so reserved is in some cases large, but the custom by which the reservation was enjoyed is ancient, and it was impossible to discriminate against the old record. In the past "sir" rights could be acquired by twelve years' cultivation by the landholder, but this led to practices designed to increase the "sir" area indefinitely, and under the current Act no fresh "sir" rights can be acquired.

Roughly, thirteen millions of acres are held by tenants with hereditary rights, and, excluding "sir," seven and a quarter millions by tenants without rights except for the period of leases where there are any, or for a single year in the case of other non-occupancy tenants.

Occupancy rights are acquired by twelve years' continuous cultivation of any land held from the landholders which is not "sir," or held under lease. The provisions of the law on the subject are somewhat elaborate, being designed to meet devices to prevent accrual of rights which had been found to have been adopted before the Act was passed. In particular, it is provided that the transfer of a tenant from one field to another will not be deemed to break the continuity of his occupation. Similarly, an illegal or a nominal ejectment is ineffective to break continuity. All these provisions have attracted considerable opposition from the spokesmen of the landholding class. It is argued that they tend to induce landholders to deprive tenants of their land entirely, and not to readmit them for at least a year. I have not myself had any experience of this having taken place to any serious extent, but it is not unlikely that it does take place. To accept the comparatively small number of cases in which a tenant is allowed no land as reason for reverting to the old law, by which a compulsory change in a tenant's

holding broke the continuity of his holding, would be a most serious step-back.

Occupancy rights, once acquired, pass from father to son or, failing sons, to the widow or male heirs associated in the cultivation of the holding. There are provisions against sub-letting designed to prevent the occupancy tenant becoming a mere receiver of rent, whilst the actual cultivator holds without rights at a rack-rent. The underlying idea in these provisions is sound, but as they stand they have, with the assistance of unsympathetic Revenue Courts, been used as a means of getting rid of genuine cultivating tenants whose ignorance of law has led them to sub-let portions of their holding for a time exceeding the five years allowed by law. It is essential to provide against habitual and continuing sub-letting by occupancy tenants, but the provisions might, without danger, be somewhat relaxed, and should certainly be so amended as to make it clear that their object is to prevent undue sub-letting and not to provide a means of curtailing occupancy rights.

Occupancy tenants are secured by law right to make all necessary improvements, and the security of tenure they enjoy enables them to benefit by these improvements. They have fully availed themselves of their rights in this matter, and the great bulk of the improvements effected in the Agra provinces has been carried out by occupancy tenants. There are improving landholders, but in the aggregate the improvements made by landholders are inconsiderable as compared with those made by tenants.

Essentially the basis of the rents paid by occupancy tenants is derived from the settlement officer's rent-rates assumed in the process of calculating the land revenue to be paid to Government. These rates are ascertained by officers who have made a thorough study of the rent-rates of all kinds paid throughout the area under settlement, and of the agricultural position as a whole and in detail. They take into consideration not only the high rates paid by tenants who have recently acquired land, but the lenient rates paid by

old tenants. They are fixed with a desire to do justice both to Government, whose land revenue depends on them, and to landholders, as well as, on the other side, to cultivators. They are based on rents actually paid for a series of years by tenants of good status. As a rule, under present conditions, settlement officers' rates, when fixed, give a material but not a severe increase on occupancy rents previously paid. The system by which rents are so fixed by a settlement officer admirably suits the revenue system of the provinces. Revenue is as a rule revised once in thirty years. With a falling rupee the revenue ordinarily rises, and the accompanying enhancement of rent allows the increase to be paid without hardship to either landlord or tenant. The law allows enhancement within the period of settlement at intervals of ten years, but, fortunately, throughout a great part of the provinces it has been regarded as customary to enhance only at settlement. Intermediate enhancements are effected by suit. [The procedure is somewhat cumbrous, and the result based on an inspection of a comparatively small area of "exemplar" fields and the rents paid for them are not infrequently uncertain.] The system is, however, capable of improvement, and as a rule the rents, even now, are safe.

I have stated previously that the preservation of prescriptive rights was a subject on which legislation was essential. The word "prescriptive" is perhaps loosely employed. I refer to those rights which tenants have in the past enjoyed without restraint, but which are not secured to them by express provisions of law. Amongst them are included various rights connected with the inhabited site, the right to occupy certain lands as threshing-floors or for storing manure, or for cattle, and to enjoy grazing rights in common in unoccupied lands without direct payment of rent. In this respect tenants, whether in Agra, with or without occupancy rights, or in Oudh, are in the same position. There are no express provisions of law on the subject. The landholder is understood to have a right to bring under cultiva-

tion all land not subject to payment of rent, and not in the separate defined possession of any individual, and I have time after time seen the threshing-floors ploughed up and the grazing-lands previously used by the entire body of tenants enclosed. Not very long ago I was in a village in Pilibhit in which the landholder had some ground of displeasure with his tenants, and ploughed up to the doors of the houses the land previously used by them for threshing-floors, tying up cattle, and stacking straw and manure. The tenants, so far as I could see, had no remedy. In this matter some amendment of the law for the province as a whole is required. There has been some stir in India lately about the disappearance of the grazing-lands and the more far-seeing landholders would not, I feel sure, raise any objection to legislation on this subject.

On the whole, the position of the Agra occupancy tenant is a satisfactory one, and in a normal village in an old settled district the non-occupancy tenant is not much in evidence. In such a village the great bulk of the good lands is held by occupancy tenants. The non-occupancy lands consist of scattered plots throughout the area in which rights have lapsed by failure of heirs or in outlying lands irregularly cultivated, in which rights have never accrued or were regarded as of little value. In such villages the tenants are on the whole comfortably off in a normal season.

The weak point in the Agra system is that it is still possible for a landholder who sets his mind to it to prevent entirely, or almost entirely, the accrual of occupancy rights in his estate. It is in such estates that the great bulk of the non-occupancy lands in the province are to be found. As a rule, such landholders are not of the old proprietary class; but to this rule there are well-known exceptions. In such estates the rents are abnormally high, and many rights to make improvements which the law gives to the tenants are in effect subject to the pleasure of the landholder. Security of tenure is essential to the enjoyment of any right by a tenant. As I shall have to remark in regard to Oudh, let the law say what

it will, a tenant has no rights where the unrestricted power of ejectment exists. It is not uncommon to find this denial of occupancy rights associated with dishonesty as regards the Government record of rents on which ordinarily the revenue assessment is based. Rents are not infrequently grossly understated, the tenant paying much more than the recorded rent, and being forced to conceal the amount he actually pays. In such cases there need be no hesitation in taking a strong line—fixing rents afresh and securing the tenants in their holdings. The question as to what action is required in regard to cases in which occupancy rights are wholesale denied, but there is no concealment, is a more difficult one, but in view of the intense discontent and impoverishment produced by excessive rents and the frequent ejectments which are necessary to prevent accrual of rights, it seems to me necessary to take some action. The existence of a moderate proportion of non-occupancy land in a village is not entirely a disadvantage. It makes it possible to provide some land for new settlers, and it affords a guide to assessing officers of the natural unrestrained movement of rent. It is not, however, essential for either purpose. The “sir” and sub-tenant area serves the same purpose, and it is found that in course of a period of settlement—thirty years—nearly one-third of the occupancy tenures lapse under the existing succession laws, and is available for disposal as land free of rights. What action is required is a very debatable question, on which I do not propose to enter, but it seems clear that some action is required in regard to estates in which rights are unduly restricted and rents forced up to the limit which competition makes possible.

The case for radical amendment of the tenant law is, however, far less strong in Agra than in Oudh. In the early eighties, when I was a young assistant in an Oudh district, an inquiry was forced on the Government in regard to the state of the tenants in Oudh. There was unceasing disturbance of possession, however longstanding, and there was constant and severe enhancement of rent. Improvements



were proscribed unless the tenants agreed to sign engagements not to claim compensation in case of ejectment. The result of the inquiry was that amendment of the law was considered necessary. The grant of occupancy rights was considered, but the landholders were strong, and strongly opposed to any such action. How, they asked, could they deal with bad characters if the power of ejectment were taken from them? Oudh officers were, it seemed to me, as a rule half-hearted in the matter. Occupancy rights were a North-West Provinces idea, and no good could come out of the N.W.P.

In the result a compromise was agreed to. The law of 1886 provided that all tenants were to be entitled to hold for a period of seven years at the existing rent, and that on the expiring of the period the enhancement of rent on the holding, whether it continued to be held by the same tenant or was transferred to another, was not to exceed one anna in the rupee. Compensation for disturbance was originally provided for, but on the representation of the landholders an enhanced court fee on the notice of ejectment was substituted for the payment to the tenant. This was, as an enthusiastic promoter of the Bill said, the "Magna Charta" of the Oudh tenant. Even this meagre measure of protection was refused to the heir of a tenant. When a tenant died his son was liable to ejectment on the expiry of the current seven years' period without payment of court fee, and the amount of enhancement on the rent was unrestricted. There were other provisions—a right to apply to the Deputy Commissioner for permission to make an improvement, and many others. It is unnecessary to detail them, as the Act failed entirely to have the desired effect, because no security of tenure was provided for. What Oudh was before the passing of the Act, Oudh is now. There were, before the Act of 1886 was passed, many landholders who treated their tenants fairly, took a reasonable rent, and encouraged rather than discouraged improvements. There are many such landholders now, but the fact remains that rents

in Oudh have continued to increase, till they are now not only greatly higher than the average rents in Agra, but higher—considerably higher—than the non-occupancy rents in Agra. Allover average figures are misleading because they do not allow for quality of land or other circumstances which affect rentals, but I give the average figures for what they are worth. The average rental for the occupancy area in Agra is somewhat under Rs. 4·8 per acre; the average for tenants in Agra without declared rights is Rs. 5·6; the average for ordinary tenants in Oudh is Rs. 6·8 per acre. The average quality of land in Oudh may be better than the average in Agra—personally I doubt whether there is, on the whole, any great difference; but it is certainly not better to the extent that the difference in rates would indicate. The rental statistics of Oudh have been recently examined by a competent and unbiassed authority—Mr. W. H. Moreland, lately Director of Land Records and Agriculture in the United Provinces—and the conclusion he arrived at was that rents in Oudh had risen far beyond the extent a one-anna-in-the-rupee enhancement in each period of seven years would permit. The one-anna limit was in itself irrational. It gave a small enhancement for a tenant who paid a rent just exceeding the land revenue the landholders had to pay to Government; it gave a large enhancement to the tenant whose rent was already excessive. With the value of the rupee falling as it has been for many years, the Oudh tenant could stand such a rise, but it would have been, and may in the future be, disastrous without this accidental support. There are, as I have said, landholders in Oudh who have observed the law in its entirety; there are others who have observed it in the letter, but not in the spirit. The rent-rolls of such a landholder show no more than a one-anna increase, but he has insisted on the payment of a premium on renewal of the tenancy. The usual and moderate premium is one year's rent each seven years. The premium has ordinarily to be borrowed, and by the time the loan has been repaid the

unfortunate tenant has paid in interest to the moneylender as much as he has paid in premium to the landholder. There is a third class of landholder who observes the law neither in the letter nor in the spirit, and exacts the highest competitive rent he can get without regard to the limit of enhancement, and probably exacts a premium in addition. He may or he may not have the full rent recorded in the village papers. The Oudh system tends to encourage concealment of rental assets, and has therefore an injurious effect on the present system of assessment of land revenue.

These enhancements are enforced by means of the unrestricted power of ejectment the landholder enjoys in Oudh. Ejectments are somewhat costly, as the court fee is a half-year's rent, but the costs of ejectment are usually borne by the incoming tenants to whom the land is given, and it is only in the case of absolutely recalcitrant tenants that it is necessary to eject. For the great majority the fact that this power is in reserve is sufficient ground for agreeing to the landlord's terms. Those who do object are mostly of the class who conceive that the possession of many generations and an ancient and assured position in their village community gives them some remote hope of achieving the almost impossible—that is, of proving without a decree at the first regular settlement under proprietary or occupancy rights under Oudh law. As a revenue officer of Government in India one has many more or less disagreeable duties to carry out, but I can assure you that I have seldom or never had so unpleasant a time as whilst trying as a court of final appeal a succession of Oudh ejectment cases. Ejectments in Agra are numerous enough, but as a rule they affect only newcomers. Commonly tenants there try to prove twelve years' possession, whilst the landholder admits eleven or alleges a break. In Oudh, however, it is common to have cases of ejectment of tenants in whose family the land has been recorded since the first record made shortly after annexation. The figures for total ejectments in the two provinces are vitiated by the fact that ejectment of temporary lessees of proprietary rights

are included with these of cultivating tenants. The total figure showing the area from which tenants were ejected is larger in Oudh than in Agra, with three times the area, but it is impossible to say what part of the area was held by genuine tenants and what by lessees.

At an earlier stage I advanced four desiderata to be provided in legislation regarding tenants. In Oudh, under the present law, all are wanting. It is futile to expect that without security of tenure any restrictions as to rent, any provisions as to improvements, can benefit tenants. It is true that the Courts would refuse to decree a rent in excess of that allowed by law, or, if appealed to, allow permission to make a well or other improvement, but the cases do not come into Court unless the tenant is ready to take the risk of ejectment when his seven years' period has passed.

There can be no doubt that the amendment of Oudh Tenant Law is a stiff business to tackle. There will be keen opposition from a powerful body of landholders who have since the Mutiny been loyal subjects of the Government. The non-official majority in the local legislative Council has also to be reckoned with, but I cannot but believe that there is not sufficient public spirit amongst the legislators to make it possible to deal justly with the Oudh tenant. Measures of protection have been enacted in all other provinces, and, so far as I know, in all countries in which peasant cultivators are numerous. In Oudh the only protection they enjoy is from the good feeling of their landlord, when they have the luck to be under a landlord who desires to deal justly with them. The measures to be adopted must form the subject of serious consideration, but we have a guide before us in the rent law of other provinces. The essential is that there should be restraint on the landholders' arbitrary power of ejectment. The matter is one in which early action is called for, as the burden of rent and discontent and the disturbance of old tenants continues to increase unchecked.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, April 30, 1917, a paper entitled "Agricultural Tenures in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh" was read by Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie, K.C.S.I. Sir William Duke, K.C.S.I., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Stanley, K.C.I.E., K.C., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Admiral and Lady Fremantle, Lord Strabolgie, Sir James Douie, K.C.S.I., Miss Douie, General Chamier, Professor Bickerton, Miss Wade, Mr. Edmund Russell, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot-Corfield, Miss Powell, Mrs. Grattan Greary, Dr. Durham, Mr. T. M. MacAllen, Mr. Haji, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Mr. E. C. Carolis, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mrs. Stephens Bird, Mrs. F. T. DeMonte, Mrs. Parker, Mr. Adams, I.C.S., Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. Grubb, Mr. J. W. Hose, Mr. B. Abdy Collins, I.C.S., Mr. Munzar, Miss Marsh, Mr. Colvin, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. Firoz Khan, Mrs. Bexon, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, Mr. S. Arumugam, Mr. B. J. Dalal, Mr. B. R. Amhedkar, Mrs. Collis, Mr. Major, Mr. George Adams, I.C.S., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Williamson, Mr. G. Mohidin Sakhan, Mr. P. W. Marsh, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. F. H. Brown, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are met here this afternoon to hear a paper on one of the most important subjects in Indian affairs by an authority who has had unique opportunities of mastering that subject. Sir Duncan Baillie has filled, for a longer or shorter time, almost every position which it has been possible to fill in connection with land settlement and land records in the United Provinces, and I think I am right in saying that the greater part of his official existence has been spent in dealing with such subjects. No greater qualification for speaking on matters connected with the law of landlord and tenant and kindred subjects in India could be imagined. As to the subject itself, I need hardly say that agriculture is, and must remain for all time that we can foresee, the leading industry of India. The vast majority of the population are engaged in it, and practically everything depends upon it. A prosperous agriculture to-day means prosperity in every branch of life

in India. One bad year means scarcity, and two bad years may mean famine. That is how it affects the people. The Government is equally interested in the prosperity of agriculture; it is no longer so absolutely dependent on land revenue as at one time it was, but the proportion of its land revenue to its total revenue is still very large indeed—about one-quarter, I think. But that gives a very faint idea of the extent to which the revenues of India are dependent on the prosperity of agriculture, because every other main head of revenue—Customs, Excise, Stamps, and most of all now Railways—depends also on agricultural prosperity, and is directly affected by it. It is evident, therefore, that it is the duty of the Government to do everything it can to promote the prosperity of the agriculturalist, and it can do that, and does do it in many ways, directly by irrigation, and directly, too, by the efforts of the Agricultural Department in improving methods of cultivation and introducing new crops, and indirectly—but in this case, too, the effect is perhaps really direct—by fostering institutions that make for thrift, like Co-operative Credit, and best of all by education, more of it and of the right kind. All these things are desiderata for the improvement of the position of agriculture in India, but none of them can bear its full effect, or anything like its full effect, unless the agriculturalist is secured in the fruits of his labours. Until that condition is established, he can take hardly any advantage at all from anything that Government may try to do for him. That question lies at the base of all the landlord and tenant legislation of the last generation, and it is with that object that our records of rights have been undertaken. The quality of our legislation and the success of our records are largely to be judged by the extent to which that object has been attained.

I will now call upon the Lecturer to speak on the position in the United Provinces.

(The lecture was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you have listened with great interest to Sir Duncan's paper, and I think it must have forced upon you the conclusion that in Oudh at any rate the desiderata which the Lecturer said were required for the security and comfort of the cultivator are largely wanting—or in fact in the broader way in which I put it, that he is not well secured in the fruits of his labours. We hope that the Government of the United Provinces will make up its mind to face this question (Hear, hear) and deal with it.

I feel very ill qualified to discuss in detail these questions of landlord and tenant law. When the Secretary approached me I told him that he could hardly have come to anybody less qualified to preside at a meeting on this subject, but I have had one intimate dealing in my career with such questions, and that one has certainly given me some ideas on the subject, which I will inflict upon you. One of them is that it is desirable so to vary the tenancy law as to have a body of law suited to the special requirements of any sufficiently large locality. I got that idea from my own province of Bengal when it was Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. We began with the Tenancy Act which arose out of the necessities of Bihar in 1885, and that Act applied to the whole province. Records of rights

under it commenced in Bihar immediately afterwards, and two or three years later in Orissa, an old province of India in which I have had the pleasure of serving on various occasions, and which is extraordinarily interesting, because it lies so much out of the way of ordinary communications, and has preserved so many archaic features, many of which are to be found in its systems of land tenure. When the Act was first drawn I do not think anyone in the Government had any real knowledge of the condition of things in Orissa. The Act certainly did not make special provision for the conditions of that part of the country, and ten or twelve years after the first record of rights the operation of revising the record was undertaken in order to see how it had worked and what changes had taken place in the interval. That revision brought out all kinds of extraordinary incongruities. When the first record took place the Uriya had very little understanding of what was being done and how it would affect him, and he sat quiet, but in twelve years he had learned a great deal, and when the revision took place all kinds of strange anomalies came up. One of the most extraordinary was that in Orissa there were many thousand persons who could be described as sub-proprietors. They were really proprietors, but their holdings being small, it was not thought worth while, in our early Revenue Settlements, to make them pay revenue direct to the Treasury, and they were instructed to pay it through the nearest big landlords—men of a feudal type and of old descent. It is not difficult to understand that that did not altogether suit these people, because when the Act came in there was no place for them at all; no such sub-proprietors were known to the ordinary ideas of Bengal, and it had to be decided how they were to be treated, and a decision was come to, as far as I remember, that if they had less land than so-and-so, they should be entered with occupancy rights, and, if more, as tenure-holders. The result was that the landlords set to work to reduce them to the position of ordinary ryots. It was my good fortune to be able to persuade the authorities in Bengal that the Act needed amendment in that respect, and a little later I succeeded in inducing the authorities to believe that a general inquiry would probably reveal the fact that the Act did not suit Orissa. We obtained the services of a man who had had great experience in such work—Mr. Stuart Maddox—and he made an inquiry which proved my case up to the hilt. He then drafted a new Act, which within seven years after the question was first raised we got passed into law, and which is now working, I hope and believe, to the great benefit of that portion of the province.

Similar things had taken place in another division of the old province, and Chota Nagpur had got an Act of its own, so that in Old Bengal, now two provinces, there are no less than three codes of landlord and tenant law working.

The Lecturer has mentioned many things as prevailing in Agra and Oudh to which analogies might be found in my own province—perhaps not in such a severe form, but very similar. We had that same difficulty in Orissa with regard to the grazing grounds—everyone tried to encroach upon them—but in the end I believe we have succeeded in getting them

all recorded; it does not follow, of course, that because they have been recorded they will not be stolen! In Orissa we were not in as bad a position as Oudh with regard to exactions on successions. There was no serious exaction, as far as I remember, on natural succession, but on the other hand the right to transfer was denied by the landlords. Transfers were made the occasion of various forms of blackmailing; it depended much on the discretion of the landlord and the strength of mind of the tenant in bargaining and in cutting it down. We dealt effectively, however, with that question by admitting both the right of the tenant to transfer and the right of the landlord to a transfer fee, which was limited to a fixed proportion of the purchase money.

Sir JAMES DOUIE said that as an official whose career in the Panjab had run curiously parallel with that of Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie in the United Provinces, it had been a great pleasure to him to have had an opportunity of hearing his paper. He had always looked on the United Provinces as the teacher of the Panjab in revenue matters. It produced the men who taught their work to the founders of the Panjab revenue system, and when Edward Wace and James Lyall reformed that system between 1880 and 1890 the inspiration again came from the United Provinces. He figured the relationship between the two provinces as like that between France and Germany. The brilliant United Provinces produced the great ideas, and the plodding Panjab worked them out, as it flattered itself, to greater perfection.

He thought the Tenancy Law was one of the things in which the Panjab had deviated most from its United Provinces model. The position of course was entirely different. In the Panjab there was, practically speaking, no tenant question; the competition there was not on the part of tenants for land, but on the part of landlords for tenants. Only about 10 per cent. of the land was tilled by occupancy tenants, and the remaining 90 per cent. was about equally shared as regards cultivation between peasant owners and tenants at will. The Panjab law provided in a satisfactory way for security of tenure and for tenants' improvements. In making village maps the Panjab Settlement Officer took a liberal view of the boundaries of the village site, and they did not have the scandal of a landlord ploughing up his tenant's threshing-floors. Again, the grazing grounds of the Panjab were usually owned by a body of land-owners, and if they decided to partition, the authorities had by law a right to say that a certain part should be excluded and reserved as a grazing ground.

A paper on Indian tenant law based on such wide practical experience as Sir Duncan possessed had a bearing beyond its actual scope. We heard a great deal nowadays in England about land reform and small holdings, and before the war the air was so darkened by the dust of party conflict that it was difficult to see clearly. Indian experience was no more applicable to English problems without wide exceptions than English experience was applicable to Indian problems. But land questions depended on two stubborn factors, soil and human nature, and there was an essential similarity about the factors bearing on the success of small



holdings everywhere. A great pothor had been made about the question whether small-holders should be owners or tenants. In the Panjab they were owners, in the United Provinces they were protected tenants; and in both provinces the results were fairly satisfactory. The main things to bear in mind were that in one form or another they must have permanency of tenure, that they must be protected against undue enhancements of rent, and that they must further be protected against themselves by restrictions on their powers of transfer.

Mr. HOSE said that a United Provinces man would need to be very bold to dispute with the Lecturer, if he said something which seemed to dispute with the Lecturer, and if he said something which seemed to differ from his views it was only because in so large a question there were many points on which the experience of observers was obtained in varying conditions. Comparisons between tenants' rents in Agra and Oudh were very difficult; in Agra there were, speaking generally, only two persons, other than the Government, who were connected with the land—the owner and the tenant. In Oudh the conditions were different; there might be at least five or six persons with an interest in the land—the talukdar, one or more sub-settlement holders, and under-proprietors. In one *pargana* there were ten different kinds of under-proprietors; under all these came the tenant. The tenant's position in this respect therefore resembled a sub-tenant's. That accounted to some extent for the difference between the recorded tenant's rents in Agra and Oudh. Another factor might be that in Oudh tenants did not pay for water, while in the large canal-irrigated areas of Agra they had to do so.

The Lecturer was, he thought, open to the suspicion of inconsistency in his presentment of the case; for if the recorded rents were really excessive, it was difficult to hold at the same time that the landholder had concealed the actual rent. The comparative figures seemed to support the view that rents were high; indeed, on the statistics available the revenue also in Oudh looked high compared with the rentals; but 6,000,000 acres were there cultivated by landowners, and allowance had to be made for the value of these. He did not think the figures indicated any large concealment of rents in Oudh, but whether rent was concealed or not, when they compared the Oudh revenue assessment with that of Agra they could hardly say that the conditions in Oudh had had a bad effect on the Government revenue. It seemed to him that in some ways the Oudh tenant could not be said to be in a worse position than the Agra man. Whereas the Oudh tenant has a certainty of seven years' occupation, the Agra tenant when he entered on his tenancy had no certainty of more than one year's occupation, and he was liable to be ejected at any year up to the eleventh year. In Oudh also, at the end of the seven years, the tenant had a very good chance of continuing his tenancy; in fact, most tenancies were continued.

The real test was the area from which tenants were actually ejected each year, and when the figures of the returns were read, with the necessary corrections, it appeared that ejectments in Oudh were not excessive.

With regard to the question of enhancement, he agreed in Oudh there

had been an increase in the rental greater than would be legally permissible under the limit of one anna in the rupee every seven years; but that might be due partly to the larger enhancement possible after a tenant's death, partly to the extinction of holdings at favourable rates, and mostly to the large extension of cultivation in the northern districts. In the fully settled tracts the enhancement was, it was true, more or less a rule of thumb; but if one examined the rentals on any particular estate, they would be found to be quite suitable for the several holdings.

Another point, which was not dealt with in the paper, was that in any revision of legislation which took place in Oudh one essential provision, similar to that in force in Agra, should be that the landowners must pass on to the tenants any suspension or remission of revenue given by the Government in consequence of bad seasons. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FIROZ said that the paper and the discussion had dealt with the theoretical and the practical sides of the question, and he would like to make a few observations on the practical side of it. The attitude of some of the legislative councils, in being unwilling to pass drastic laws upsetting the existing relations between landlords and tenants, had been criticized, but it would be admitted that the idea of the Government in India was the benefit of the landlord and tenant, and this explains why the law did not change as the Lecturer required. There had been a great deal of talk about the poor tenant, but he would like to say a little about the poor zemindar. (Hear, hear.) The Lecturer mentioned the question of settlements. After a few years the revenue was sometimes increased, but where was the landlord to pay that increase from if he was not allowed to get an increased rent? Some land fell below the margin of cultivation, and some decreased in fertility, whereas other land produced more, so that it was quite right that there should be a revision now and then. If the Government raised the revenue, then, in his opinion, in the same way the zemindar was also entitled to do that. People often tried to apply Western theories to Eastern people. With regard to the question of the illegal taking away of grazing lands, he ventured to submit that the same thing often occurred in this country, and specially they would notice it if they would but look back to the enclosures of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early half of the nineteenth; no one could deny that. In India there was no leasehold system—they did not go to a lawyer and have it written down, but it was done in a quiet way between the landlord and the tenant, and it might quite properly happen that the landlord wished to put in a new tenant, and when it was absolutely necessary to eject a tenant he thought it was quite justifiable. With regard to the question of ploughing up the tenants' threshing-floors, he instanced several cases in which he thought it was quite justifiable, for otherwise it would entail a great loss of fertile land. It might be a truism to say that whatever was best administered was best, but the landlord's interests were really common interests with the tenant; he wanted the tenant to produce more, because he himself got more in just the same way because of the Metayér system prevailing in India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. B. ABDO COLLINS said that it was with great diffidence, after so many distinguished persons had spoken, that he said anything on this subject. His only excuse was that he had had some experience in the neighbouring province of Bihar and Orissa, both on settlement work and as Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and had thus been able to see how the problem of land tenancy affected the tenant there. He ventured to correct Sir William Duke's statement that there were three Tenancy Acts in the province. There were at least five, and all of them differed materially in their provisions. A revenue officer was thus able to see the effect of different laws actually in working. To an officer accustomed to the Bengal Tenancy Act and the other no less liberal Acts in Bihar and Orissa, the provisions of the Oudh law seemed very unsatisfactory. It was a fact that wages in Oudh were markedly lower than in any other part of India, and as a result it provided the great recruiting-ground for coolies for overseas under the system, which was rightly so much disliked by the educated people of India. If the cultivators were given greater security of tenure, he believed that then prosperity would so much increase that this state of affairs would no longer exist.

With regard to the question of right of transfer, the law varied in every part of Bihar and Orissa. In Chota Nagpur there was no such right; in Orissa tenants might transfer their holdings on certain conditions subject to a payment of 25 per cent. of the purchase price to the landlord; while in Bihar it was a question of custom, which varied from *pargana* to *pargana*. An officer who had served in each part of the province, or whose duties allowed him to travel all over it, had thus the opportunity of observing the effect of the different provisions in actual working. His experience as Registrar had led him to the conclusion that where the right of transfer was present, there the peasant owner was most indebted. In other words, the average tenant in India was not fit for the privilege of unrestricted transfer; on the other hand, where the tenant had no right to transfer at all, as in Chota Nagpur, he was much handicapped by lack of credit. What was required was some system under which the ryot could raise money on the security of his land without being exposed to the machinations of the land-grabbing and extortionate usurer. The speaker believed that the solution was to grant special privileges for the sale of tenants' holdings to Co-operative Societies. The Co-operative Society lends money for the good of the tenant; it has no designs on his land, and would be embarrassed if it had to take possession. It may therefore be trusted not to exercise its right of sale except in the last resort. On the other hand, without such a right the co-operative movement often cannot lend sufficiently large sums to heavily indebted yet solvent tenants such as are needed to save them from ruin.

The LECTURER, in thanking the audience for the way in which they had accepted his paper, said the discussion had gone over many points which could not be exhaustively dealt with in a short reply. As to the necessity for having separate Acts of the legislature for different tracts, in his province the necessity for differentiation did not arise, because the provinces as a whole were homogeneous both as regards the character

of the cultivation and the population. Certain differences must exist between the old settled and fully cultivated districts and those in which cultivation was being extended, but he thought these differences could be provided for by a few sections in a general Act. With regard to the grazing grounds in Bengal, Sir William Duke claimed that the Bihar records were superior to those of the United Provinces, because they had prevented the grazing grounds from being stolen. The fault, however, was not in the records, but in the law, which did not recognize that the occupation of common lands by an individual amounted to stealing. As to the question of rights of transfer, he accepted the statement as to the danger of those rights; in the United Provinces the tenant could transfer nothing. Then, a well settled occupancy tenant was a person from whom borrowed money could be recovered to any reasonable extent, and his credit was therefore as good as was for his benefit. Sir James Douie had referred to the need for a fuller record of prescriptive rights—more than mere records was required: what they wanted was a legislative recognition that the rights existed.

Mr. HOSE suggested there was a doubt as to the correctness of the Lecturer's views on the extent of the enhancement in Oudh, and said that if there was concealment the papers would not show so high a rent. That was not a logical argument. The Lecturer contended that if there had been no concealment the papers would show a still higher rent. He disclaimed any intention to reflect on a large proportion of the landholders. Many of them obeyed the law, and had been even generous and kind to their tenants, but in both Oudh and Agra there were others who had been neither just nor generous, and it was for those classes legislation was required. He looked forward to the time when the tenant would be regarded as having a right to hold his lands, but he did not, as suggested by Mr. Firoz, suggest that the landlord was not entitled to an enhancement of his rent; he had every right to a suitable increase of rent.

Mr. HOSE suggested that the increase over the one anna limit was due to the increases in the rental of lapsed tenancies, which are by law unrestricted. That question has been considered by Mr. Moreland, and he came to the conclusion that the increase over the one anna limit was in excess of any increase that could be accounted for by the increase in the lapsed tenures.

Sir JAMES WILSON, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, said that he had been much struck by the tendency in almost all the provinces of India to favour the tenants, who were now much more secure than they had been forty years ago. Even the landlords were generally ready to allow their tenants greater security against ejectment and enhancement of rent, and it was to be hoped that something might be done to render the position of the tenants in Oudh more satisfactory than it was at present.

Dr. POLLEN seconded the proposal, and, on being put to the meeting, it was carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.

## THE LAUREATE OF INDIA

BY MRS. N. C. SEN

I DEEM it to be a very great honour to be asked to read a paper, at this meeting of the East India Association, about the great poet and teacher Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, although I feel it is not in my power to fully do him justice. His name is no longer confined within the four corners of Bengal, but has attained a world-wide fame. As Shakespeare, Shelley, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin, and other great poets and teachers of the West are regarded as household deities and cherished treasures in educated homes in the East, as they are almost part and parcel of their very existence, so has Rabindra Nath Tagore now become in the Western world. We have a saying in Sanskrit : " Swadeshē pujiyātē Raja bidwan Sarvatra pujiyātē," which means, " Kings are only revered in their own kingdom, but learned and wise men are revered all over the world."

Centuries and eras go by, Empire after Empire is built, and perishes ; the magnificent glory of man's utmost material power fades away ; it buries itself deep in the hollow cave of time, and is soon forgotten ; but words uttered by wise men ever so many thousand years ago still remain true, still bear fruit. The Vedas and Upānishads and other great books of the East still live. The Bible, the Koran, the Zendavesta are as true and immortal now as ever. The world would not have cherished Buddha's name if he had chosen to succeed his father and finished his worldly career just like an ordinary monarch. Kings and earthly powers are needed to rule the earth, but it is prophets and teachers who are needed to guide mankind towards heaven.

India has been abundantly rich in poets, prophets, teachers,

and reformers ; we have had martyrs who gave up life and everything for the sake of their faith ; we have had preachers who won over hardened sinners by love and forbearance. In Bengal itself we have had many great spiritual and large-hearted men since Chaitanya's time (in the fifteenth century). Chaitanya flooded Bengal with love—love of God and of mankind, regardless of class, caste or character. His love was so overpowering that even some Muhammadans were conquered by it and became his disciples.

I may here be excused if I give you a little sketch of early Bengal before I touch on the subject of my theme.

During and after Chaitanya's time we had several poets of more or less talent who endeavoured to keep alive the religious fervour originated by him. Amongst these I will name Joydeb, Bidyapati, Chandidas and Kabikangkan ; then came Bharat-chandra ; he was the poet laureate at the Court of Rajah Krishna Chandra of Nadiya (about the sixteenth century). He was a clever poet and had genius, but some of his poems were somewhat demoralizing. Ramprasad Sen, a great devotee and composer of numerous spiritual songs, came about this time or a little later. His songs were set to a tune by him which is known as the Ramprasadi tune. They are still very popular both amongst the villagers and the townspeople, the peasants and gentry of Bengal. After a lapse of time came the real Renaissance. It arrived with the great reformer Rajah Rammohun Roy, whose name is not unknown to you. Bengal was again flooded with new light ; this time there were many torch-bearers, both spiritual and intellectual ; reform began wholesale and in earnest. That was a wonderful epoch in the history of Bengal.

Rajah Rammohun Roy took up religious questions, founded the Brahmo Somaj, had "Satis" stopped, translated some Sanskrit Scripture into English and into Bengali, and did much other noble work, that has made his name immortal. He came over to this country in the early nineteenth century, and died at Bristol, where there is a Mausoleum erected by Rabindra Nath's grandfather that is now and again visited by members

of the Brahmo Somaj who sojourn here. After Rammohun Roy we had Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, father of our poet Rabindra Nath, who was a great and pious sage, set many noble examples in life and possessed deep insight into the spiritual world. He encouraged culture and education, both in its Eastern and Western form, and built up an ideal family in his own home. Then we had my own father-in-law, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, who was regarded as a second Chaitanya amongst his followers and admirers. He was truly broad-minded ; his activity had no respite ; his field of work had no boundary ; his love of God was the very stay of his life ; his oratory, both in English and Bengali, was unprecedented in India. His command of the English language was most extraordinary, especially as he had been educated entirely in India. He was given a great reception, indeed an ovation, in this country when he came over here forty-seven years ago. He made such a deep impression here that even now his letters and photos are treasured as precious mementoes in families which came in contact with him. We had another lion-hearted man in Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar ; his name was cherished both by rich and poor, educated and illiterate, Brahmin and Chandal (the depressed class of Bengal), with the deepest affection. The poorest of the poor in their illness had in him a second Miss Nightingale. Vidyasagar was the title given to him by the Pundits of Nadiya, and the meaning of the word is "the Ocean of Knowledge." But he was called by the poor and needy "the Ocean of Mercy" (Dayar Śagar). He was born of poor parents, and was never very rich, but he never denied anyone help when asked. His return was often ingratitude, but he took this calmly as the way of the world. He introduced simple Bengali prose in writing books ; he wrote many text-books—in fact, *his* were the first text-books written in Bengali. He translated many Sanskrit books. He was the main mover in getting the Hindoo Widow Remarriage Act passed, and he let his son set the example by marrying a widow, a step which demands great courage, even at the present time, in our country.

Although Ishwar Chandra was the inaugurator of modern

Bengali, it was Babu Bankim Chandra Charterjee who gave it its beauty. He remodelled it altogether, and wrote volumes and volumes of novels and other works, all very fascinating. He was a great word-painter and character-painter. Nothing worth painting could escape his artistic eye. He was called the Sir Walter Scott of Bengal. His books are still widely read, and some of them have been translated into English.

After Bankim there came other prose and poetry writers before Rabindra entered into the field. Some of them were charming and inspiring. I remember vividly how we used to recite some of those stirring poems in school and out of school, and how our hearts sometimes used to glow with pride in our country, and again became oppressed with a feeling of humiliation as we thought of the decadent condition of our race. Those early poets and writers, amongst whom Hem Chandra Bannerjee Nabin Chundra Sen, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Rangalal Mozumdar, and Romesh Chandra Dutt were very well known, infused into the veins of our countrymen new life, vigour and ambition, and greatly elevated our thoughts and ideas and taught us to look forward to a bright future and to work for it.

Rabindra Nath Tagore was the outcome of their herculean efforts ; they were the tillers of the field, the preparers of the ground for the master sower and reaper. The master came at last in his time and sowed. Rabindra Nath Tagore always has sowed good seed—high thoughts, ennobling ideas—that is the reason he has always been able to reap good harvests. He goes on and on sowing and reaping, stirring the hearts of the people, carrying them all with him ; they cannot help admiring him and following him. When he was young and wrote mostly love-poems and love-songs, we all loved him just as much as we do now ; we all quoted him, all imitated him ; for he was our leader even then ; and although he was then only just “ coming out,” yet many anticipated even at that early period that he would eclipse all his predecessors and contemporaries.

Perhaps I might here pause to quote one of his early poems that I have translated entitled “ Hard to Understand ” :



" Can you not understand me ?  
Your calm and questioning eyes  
Are looking deep into mine,  
As if to try to read me ;  
As the Moon looks into the depths of the Sea  
To unravel its Mystery.

" I have hidden nought from you,  
Have spread my whole mind out to your view,  
And because I have given you all I had,  
You cannot understand me !

" If it were a gem  
I would have broken it into pieces,  
And, counting them one by one,  
I would have strung a pretty necklace  
And hung it round your neck.

" If it were a flower,  
A little soft, sweet-scented lily  
That opens its eyes at the caress  
Of the first beam of the morning sun,  
And swings gently in the arms of the south breeze,  
I would have picked it up  
To adorn your dark hair.

" But this is a heart,  
Deep and vast,  
Limitless as the sky.  
And though you know not  
Where it begins and where it ends,  
It is your very seat, my Queen.

## II.

" What is it I want you to know ?  
In the depth of my heart  
There's a song in silent tune  
Like the music of the night  
That fills the silent sky.

" If it were a pleasure,  
A little smile at the corner of the lips  
Would have revealed it ;  
You would have understood at once  
Without my telling you.

" If it were a sorrow,  
Two drops of tears in two sad eyes  
Would have expressed it  
Far better than any words.

“ But this is the Love of my heart.  
It has no end of pleasure, sorrow and pain.  
It is rich and also ever in want ;  
New longings are springing up every moment,  
That's why I cannot make you understand.

“ But why try to understand ?  
Better go on reading ever, in new lights,  
By day and by night.  
It is easy to understand  
Half a love and half a mind,  
But who has ever understood the whole ?”

It would not be untrue if I were to say that I have known the poet from the early dawn of my life. Though I have only met him a few times, and have only occasionally written to him, yet I have *read* him, I have *studied* him, I have *admired* him, I have *worshipped* him and I have *idealized* him ever since I was ten years of age.

I found myself at the shrine of this then just rising sun one day all unaware. It was a little gem of a poem, a chance acquaintance, that led me the way there. It cast a magic spell on me, it brought a message of sympathy from one heart to another, it made me realize the kinship of souls.

I recall the poem word for word even now ; it was a kind of invocation of goodwill, sympathy and desire to help the little human buds who are entrusted to our care in everyday life. He said : “ We must be worthy of the great trust reposed in us ; we must do our best by them ; we must help them to mature, to develop, to unfold their petals one by one till they bloom fully and are able to hold their own.” It had a Divine tone in it.

From that time I always read his poems and other writings as soon as they were published.

When I started writing in my humble way he became my guiding star. I still remember the joy I felt when I read his first and encouraging letter that he wrote me on receiving a copy of my first publication—very much like that joy I felt again when a letter came from him a few days ago in appreciation of a few lines written by me in a magazine. I felt my modest effort was amply rewarded. He said in his letter that

he knew he was not fully understood yet by the Western public, but felt confident that in course of time, when the West understands the East better, all that seems strange, foreign and unfamiliar now in his writings will disappear.

At one time he was almost regarded as a second Shrikrishna amongst us in Bengal. (Shrikrishna in our mythology was an incarnation of God's loving aspect who in his young days played on a wonderful flute and held everyone spellbound ; the women of Brindaban forgot all their daily cares and sorrow, and went out to adore the charmer in all weathers and at all times whenever they heard him play ! ) Rabindra Nath Tagore also plays on a wonderful flute ! He has been playing on it for over forty years, but never has he played the same tune twice over. He never repeats himself either in words or thoughts, nor in rhyme or rhythm.

Thoughts with him always seem to come out clothed in a new garb. Many of his works have been translated into English, yet how can it ever be possible to convey to the English public the beauty of the original language as he, and *he only*, can write ? He has enriched our language vastly, as he has enriched our thoughts. Our sweet Bengali language, under the paternal care of our early writers, was just beginning to feel her coming youth when Rabindra Nath Tagore became enamoured of her and vowed his eternal love to her. He entirely took charge of her, fashioned her and developed her until she became perfect. We are proud of our language to-day, and it is chiefly through him we can call it one of the sweetest languages on earth.

Rabindra Nath Tagore does not deal solely with one particular subject ; for, like a true poet, his whole existence is steeped in the intense love of Nature, the world and the whole universe. He feels a " oneness " with everything in creation ; his heart is wrung with anguish when he sees sorrow, and he exults in happiness when there is happiness about him. He adores a blade of grass, an atom of dust, just as much as he adores the mighty mountains and deep oceans. He loves the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky and infinite space and

time. He loves life and he loves death, for are they not all the Dear One's precious gifts to us, and are they not all wonderful?

He feels strong filial love for Mother Earth, and holds communion with her; he appreciates her unceasing and untiring toil to provide her children with nourishment, comforts and delights; he observes how patient and yielding she is; he *feels* with her, and understands her thoroughly. He understands many things which are more or less mysteries to the majority of people, because he has that keen insight, that deep sympathy, which alone can bridge the gulf between the spiritual and material worlds. He is *all* soul, all feeling. Many a time can we see our true selves reflected in the mirror of his writings and we wonder, "How could he know of this or of that?" And we think that *we* could never express it so well ourselves, although we feel it so strongly!

In all his writings, from the earliest to the present day, there is a sad note somewhere, a search for something *rare*, a striving to attain something very hard to achieve. Often we wondered, "Was his love human or Divine?" We know it now, and perhaps he also knows too. If his love-poems and patriotic songs and other writings have stirred the hearts of the young and given them inspiration, his sacred songs and sermons have done even more. They have healed many a wound, they have brought peace and comfort to the stricken ones, young or old. They are sung and read in all the churches of Brahmo Samaj; they take us nearer to God; they give us moral strength to face the trials of life, and help us to rise above them all.

His hymns are simply incomparable—such high and exquisite thoughts, such simple and deep belief, such love and trust are expressed in them that one feels as though plunged into a Divine atmosphere when one sings them or hears them sung.

I will attempt to translate one or two hymns composed by him many years ago. I should have liked to give you some of his later compositions, but, unfortunately, I have none with me at present. All through his life he has written many hymns; they

are all sublime, but still, one can perceive by means of them how, step by step, he has been steadily nearing his goal.

Here is one :

“ Who can deprive me to-day  
Of anything in the world  
When I have Thee, Beloved,  
In my heart of hearts ?

“ Many a cruel blow  
Has come on me in showers,  
But Thy nectarous touch  
Keeps me ever happy.

“ What thirst has not been  
Quenched to-day, my Friend,  
When Thy hands kindly  
Hold the cup of Love to my lips ?”

And another :

“ I know I live a useless life,  
I know I do not love Thee enough ;  
I want to go Thy way, my Father,  
But thousand obstacles are there.

“ Behold how hopelessly placed I am,  
In hundred tangles I am caught so firm ;  
I want to break through, but I find it so hard,  
Unless Thou come to my help, my Saviour, my God.

“ Break it, Thou ! Break all my worldly pleasure,  
Stop me playing this game.  
For while, like a fool, I play about,  
The time slips away.

“ Strike me hard with Thy thunder of wrath,  
Burn me well with the fire of sorrow ;  
Bring tears in torrents to my eyes, my Lord,  
To wipe them with Thy Hands to-morrow.

“ Empty my heart of earthly possessions,  
All that I value and cherish,  
So that Thou, my King, may enter  
On an everlasting lease.”

And still another :

“ I dread lest I should try to praise me  
While I am praising Thee, O Lord ;  
For I feel doubtful of my sincerity.  
I dread lest I should grow conceited, my Master,  
While I am humbly serving Thee.

"Nothing is hidden to Thy knowledge ;  
Thou knowest all the secrets of my heart,  
No one but Thou canst know how poor and mean I am.  
When in my small voice I sing of Thy Glory,  
The world bows its head down in reverence to Thee.

" I dread then lest I should feel vain,  
And be swallowed by darkness.  
I often dread lest I should cheat myself,  
Lest I should try to put me on Thy seat.  
Save me, Father, take pity on me, save me from these  
calamities."

Not only in hymns does Rabindra Nath Tagore express his soul so vividly, but also in his *thoughts* of the universe. The boundary of his mother-land stretches out so far that he feels as though belonging not to *one* country and *one* race, but to *all* countries and *all* races. He has a great admiration and reverence for Christ and His teachings, and also for Muhammad and Buddha, although a believer of the high doctrines of our Upánishads and Vedas, and a member of the Indian Theistic Church called Brahmo Samaj. The truth is, he believes, in one universal religion which has for its keystone the absolute goodness of God.

Light and love he pours forth incessantly in his writings, making many difficult things in life easy and accessible for us, solving ever so many problems, explaining the deepest and highest philosophy in the sweetest and most simple language.

He never seeks fame or praise. It is *we* who rejoice in his glory ; for we, at least the majority of us, are still very material beings, and think too much of mortal and earthly things ; but when *he* is offered any such honour his very soul cries out in the beautiful words that were once uttered by Maitreyee in the Upánishad : "What shall I do with these that cannot bring me immortality?"

Here I may be permitted to quote a line from a letter he wrote me in acknowledgment of the congratulations I sent him on being knighted :

" I am glad to get your letter. I take pride that you, my country-people, feel honoured at the honour that has been bestowed on me, but you would have pitied me had you only

known how hard it has been for me to bear the burden of this honour."

A flower cannot help being a flower, the sun cannot help shining upon the earth, the moon does not grow vain when admired! Rabindra Nath Tagore can be likened to one of these. He has an unlimited amount of treasure entrusted to him; we cannot help seeing how rich he is. He also cannot help revealing it to the world, and unconsciously enriching the world. Thus, he has given himself away to the world, and the world also has rightly recognized him as its very own.

As I said before, all the translations of his works, though excellent in their way, lose somewhat of the beauty of the original.

A plant transplanted in a foreign soil misses its native air, its native soil, and never thrives well or brings forth its beauty to its full extent; perhaps the cause of its very life was in the soil and surroundings of its native land, so that when transplanted, even if it does not die, it loses in some measure its individuality. A language is just as much a child of a particular land as a nation itself. To study a nation one must study its language, for they are a part of each other.

As a bird of any certain species has a particular melody all its own, as a flower of any particular variety has its own peculiar colouring and perfume, as all things in Nature have their own individuality, their different significance, so is it with human beings and their different nations and races, born and bred in their own particular land, brought up amidst the habits and customs of centuries that are handed down from one generation to another. And different languages are only the product of different nations; it is impossible to separate one from another.

Still, I would not say that books should not be translated; for translation is a kind of bridge across the ocean of ignorance of each other which divides two nations; it is a kind of "short cut" to an unknown land; it is the only means of communication with a foreign nation; it brings the different nations closer together. It shows, as it were, the beauty of a precious heir-

loom to the outsiders which was hidden in a small casket for ages—strangers may not, at first sight, realize the full value of it. Some perseverance and true sympathy are required to understand and grasp the ideas and thoughts of a nation that took centuries to develop. We misjudge each other when we do not read and feel with our heart and soul. We should all feel the affinity that exists between one soul and another. Blessed are they who have keen feeling and sympathy and who have shed and are shedding their very life's blood, as it were, for the cause of the human race. Such is the striving of Rabindra Nath. He is constantly calling out to us, the whole of mankind, to rally round the flag of God, to forget our little differences and petty jealousies, and to enjoy together the gifts and blessings of our Heavenly Father, as we are all His children, and all have the same claim on Him. He is constantly praying to God for peace, love, and light for the world. His heart has been crying and bleeding against the injustice, cruelty, and bloodshed that always goes on in this world in some form or other. This feeling of his is depicted in many of his character-sketches. His soul yearns for some redress.

In one of his hymns, which I attempt to give you in English, he says :

“ How can I wish to be happy,  
When so many are crying in need,  
And so many are crying in grief,  
And so many are lying in dust and shame?  
My ears are deafened with their endless cries;  
I cannot at times even hear Thee aright.  
My heart so often is full to the brim  
That words of prayer are sunk within.  
Pour Thou the nectar of hope  
On to Thy needy children,  
And bless them, O Lord.  
Lead to the right path those who have lost their way,  
And give them Thine own Shelter,  
Give Thy love to console the grieved,  
Send Thine Own Light to their tear-stained eyes.

For himself he prays in one of the hymns thus : “ Thou hast given me much, but my desire is still unfulfilled, my troubles are not over, my tears are not dried yet ; the deep thirst of my



soul is still unquenched. Thou hast given me life and the dear ones that I have ; Thou hast given me the beautiful earth, the blue sky, and the soft sweet breeze ; when Thou, my Friend, hast given me all this Thou must give me more, for I shall not leave until Thou givest me *Thyself*."

When in later life he lost one of his dear ones he was not an atom shaken in his strong love and trust in God. Grief and sorrows have helped him to be what he is to-day. In sorrow he feels God closer. He says :

"Anything, anything that comes from my Friend is welcome ; why should I mind sorrows ? They lose their sting and fall softly on my heart as so many flowers, and I press them hard to my heart to feel His touch."

How many of us can feel like this when sorrow visits us ? But we admire it, and perhaps unconsciously we gather strength and hope, and we are uplifted in our time of trouble.

In conclusion, I would like to give you a few lines in translation from his poem called "After Death," which he composed in memory of a dear relation :

"It is all over to-day—  
 All life's mistakes  
 And wrongs are over ;  
 The throbbing of the heart  
 And the beating of the pulse  
 Are stopped !  
 All good and bad,  
 All doubt and grudge,  
 Are no more,  
 Peace ! Let peace reign supreme  
 And all earthly feeling  
 Be burned with the body. . . .

"In vain you offer  
 These pretty flowers.  
 In vain you are shedding  
 Tears of grief !  
 And you who were  
 His sworn enemies, in vain  
 You are forgiving him now.  
 Unlimited consolation has he  
 In that ever silent country. . . .

“Has he gone? Or is he still here?  
Has he wakened? Or gone to sleep?  
Who shall answer this? . . .

“Is he feeling tired at the  
End of his earthly journey?  
Or is he already feeling refreshed?  
Has he yet started towards  
A new destiny?  
Can anyone escape it,  
When once caught into an Existence? . . .

“Say what you like; judge him;  
Pass your opinion:  
Nothing will touch him now.  
He is born now  
In Eternity. . . .

“He is not as he was;  
He will not come back,  
To share your happiness and sorrow,  
As he shared before.  
He is gone! Let him go!  
Let him be forgotten then. . . .

“I know not why we come here,  
And why we work,  
And why, at the end of our work,  
Our worn-out lives leave the  
Shore of this world. . . .

“We care not whether we are appreciated  
By those we leave behind;  
We do not barter,  
We cannot order,  
Our lives. . . .

“Why do we come and go?  
Why do we meet?  
Why do we make friends and foes?  
Why do we feel hope and love and hatred  
In our heart, when life is  
So short?  
Why so much sorrow and happiness  
In life?  
Why are we tied down  
To numerous duties? . . .

“ What was unfinished here,  
What was checked and discouraged,  
Could that be finished  
Somewhere hereafter? . . .

“ What seemed meaningless and unreal in life,  
And scattered about in pieces,  
Has Death gathered them together in his basket,  
And filled them with  
Meaning and reality now?”

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#### NOTE

By a most unfortunate mistake, for which the Council of the East India Association take this opportunity of expressing their regret, the name of Sir William Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., was included amongst the casualties of the year.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, May 29, 1917, at which a paper was read by Mrs. N. C. Sen, entitled "The Laureate of India." The Rt. Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Lady Carmichael, Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., and Lady Wilson, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mrs. Abbas Ali Baig, Sir Herbert and Lady Holmwood, Mr. Samuel Digby, C.I.E., Lady Duke, Lady Simeon, Lady Katharine Stuart, Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Hon. Mr. C. B. Ponsonby, Lady Kensington, the Right Rev. Bishop and Mrs. Coplestone, Rev. and Mrs. Rowley, Mr. and Mrs. Barker, Miss Scatterd, Rev. F. Penny, Mrs. Clarke Kennedy, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. Sassoon, Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Sassoon, Mrs. Belilios, Mrs. Tudor Freer, Mr. K. K. Mathue, Mr. A. E. L. Emanuel, I.C.S., Mr. H. N. Sen, Mr. Kidway, Mrs. Drury, Miss Swainson, Mrs. Grigg, Mr. T. A. Chettiar, Mr. S. G. Gayatonde, Mr. Simenonds, Mrs. Beverley, Captain T. W. Rolleston, Miss Talbot Ready, Mr. Robinson Smith, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mrs. Hyde, Mr. and Mrs. Giles, Miss Dunderdale, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Firoz Khan, Miss Beck, Mr. Edmund Russell, Mr. K. Ismail, Mrs. Couchman, Mrs. Drakonles, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Miss Boyd, Mrs. Newton, Mrs. Farquharson, Mrs. Wadde Love, Mrs. R. G. A. Thomson, Mrs. M. T. Jackson, Mrs. Simon, Mrs. Delbanco, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Mrs. Powys, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. R. S. Dantra, Mrs. Lee Mitchell, Miss Nigil, Miss Wade, Mr. Flewker, Mr. S. Haji, Mrs. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. M. M. Dhar, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. E. J. Khory, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Brandt, Miss Handley, Miss Morris, the Misses Murphy, Mr. A. M. Ahmad, Syed Erfan Ali, Miss Grose, Miss Claridge, Mrs. Tucker, Miss Butt, Mr. and Mrs. S. H. Ahmad, Mr. Mansukhan, Mr. G. Jacob, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mrs. F. A. White, Mr. N. N. Wadia, Miss Ashworth, Miss R. Powell, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. and Mrs. Love, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Roberts, Mrs. Simpson, Mr. H. K. Gupta, Mr. Razzaq, Mr. T. W. Arnold, Mr. W. F. Dingwall, Mr. M. M. Beaumont, Mr. P. K. Acharya, Miss Sykes, Mr. C. M. Shuja-uddin, Mr. M. H. Rana, Mr. W. Hassanally, Miss M. Meredith Beaumont, Mr. H. Isphani, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Lieut.-Colonel A. S. Bohel, Mrs. Sinclair Guthrie, Mrs. Collis, Miss Stephen-

son, Mrs. Norie, Mrs. Creagh-Osborne, Miss Blanche Ford, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said that the Council of the East India Association had asked him to express a very cordial welcome to Lord Carmichael on his return to this country. He was an old member of the Association, and he was sure that all present wished him a very cordial welcome on his return. The meeting would remember that during Lord Carmichael's absence from this country for nine years he had had the unique experience of being the Governor of Victoria, which the speaker would call one of the kingdoms of Australia, and also of Bengal, one of the provinces of India, and with this quite unique experience of two entirely different sections of the British Empire it would be appreciated that he had a great advantage in being able to assist in solving the great problems that lie before the Government for the furtherance of the unity of the Empire.

The HON. SECRETARY said letters of regret at not being able to attend the meeting had been received from Lord Curzon for Lady Curzon, from Lady Minto, Lady Ampthill and Lady Cromer, and from the Poet Laureate and Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mrs. Sen to read her paper, which was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, it is my duty now to say something ; what I say will be very short. I am very grateful to Sir Arundel Arundel for what he said about me at the beginning of the meeting, and I am grateful to you for the way in which you received his words. I was very glad to be in India, although it was only for a short time, not long enough to learn as much about India as I suppose most of you know, so I am not going to thrust any of my ideas upon you. But I will say this : that one of the things which make me most glad that I went to India is that I there met and got to know Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore ; another of them is that I met Mrs. Sen. In consequence I have been asked to take the chair at this meeting. I am very glad to see that so many people here take an interest in Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore ; there are, of course, many who take an interest in him in many parts of the world, even in India. There are some in Bengal who take a sort of interest which I do not think anybody here takes in him. When it was my duty to hand to Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore the papers connected with the Nobel Peace Prize—which I am sure we are all glad to know that he received—I did it at an evening party at Government House to which I invited a good many people. I remember saying to one lady who was present that I hoped she was pleased that Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore was receiving this prize. She rather surprised me by telling me that she was not at all pleased, for she thought the Bengalis took far too much interest in bombs and explosives and things of that sort, and therefore she and many other people deeply regretted that the Nobel Prize should go to him. I do not think that there is anybody here who takes that sort of view, which seemed to me a little far fetched. I am not going to say anything about Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore ; probably you

have all read more of his writings than I have. I dare say if I had not been Governor of Bengal I should know them better, for I should have had more time to do many things which I would have liked to have done. There are others here who are going to speak—I see the names of several—and as I notice that each of them is allowed ten minutes—at least those are the orders laid before me—you have some interesting minutes before you, and I will not keep you away from them any longer.

Bishop COPLESTONE said he was sorry he was not prepared to deal as he would have liked with the subject of the paper to which they had listened with so much pleasure. He was glad that he had had an opportunity in his work in India, of knowing that which enabled him to appreciate to some extent the Indian side of the thoughts of such a poet as they had been hearing and reading about. It had been his happiness to know a good many members of the poet's family, and he could trace back the root of his genius and great poetical talent to his most distinguished and noble father. The speaker had the honour of some slight acquaintance with him, and had diligently studied his works, and his opinion was that he was a man of deep philosophical insight and of a truly poetic spirit; and what was much more was the extremely pious character of all his thoughts. He had lived a noble and self-denying life, an instance of which was the way in which he had dealt with the affairs of his firm when they were in difficulties. Another member of the family the speaker had had the honour of knowing was the first Indian to obtain a place in the Indian Civil Service, and was for a long time a member of the judicial branch in Bombay. What impressed the speaker mainly, in the writing of Rabindra Nath Tagore was how permeated with the sense of the Divine Presence he was, and how convinced that there had been in the people of the Indian race from long ages past a deep spiritual sense of that Divine Presence. That was the inner meaning that the Maharshi found in those often very obscure and perhaps sometimes almost grotesque forms of parable which Indian writings contained. Rabindra Nath's poems were full of such touches. Sometimes, for instance, after a lovely description of sunset or of personal feeling there was some little short sentence which seemed to carry one into a dreamy, almost unreal, world, as when it was said: "There at the river in the little boat the little unknown man plays upon his lute." The speaker wished in conclusion to thank Mrs. Sen very much for her paper and the audience for their kind attention.

Mr. H. G. WELLS said that he was very sorry indeed to say he could not make speeches. It had always been a matter of regret to him, and he had never regretted it so much as upon this occasion, because he would so gladly have expressed his intense appreciation of the beautiful paper which had been read and of something much more beautiful which lay behind it. He thought it was no slight to Mrs. Sen, no slight even to that very great poet, Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, to say that they both stood for something still greater and something with which English people were only just beginning to be properly acquainted. This was the Indian mind, which was a mind of singular richness and singular

delicacy, with a wonderful gentleness; a mind that in spite of all that it had already done in the past, was still, he believed, destined to make its chief contributions to the human synthesis in the years that lay ahead.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said he had come from a sick bed in order to express his appreciation of Mrs. Sen's skilfully written paper and his admiration for that wonderful genius, the flower of modern Indian literature, Rabindra Nath Tagore. In making a few remarks on the subject he would like to take three definite aspects from which to view the message of Rabindra Nath. In the first place he was a brilliant literary *ratna*, a great force in literature not only in India, but, if he might say so, all over the world. Mr. Wells, in that fine book of his just published, "God the Invisible King," bore testimony to the value of Tagore's devotional poetry. There was a universal recognition of our poet's tranquil sublimity of thought and style. But we must realize all this in its true setting. As Mr. Wells had very aptly put it, in the speech which they had just heard, those qualities linked themselves with the best of what India not only has produced, but is going to produce in the future. He would like to point out that all this was only one, although the greatest, indication of a spirit that was permeating Indian literature in all its vernaculars. The speaker was familiar with Urdu literature, and he could see in the poetry of men like Iqbal and Hali something of the same striving after the universal, something of the desire to interpret nature, and the human spirit which is brought into relations with nature, so that we should feel that that wonderful power of speech which we possess as human beings is given to us not to conceal thought, not even merely to express it, but to develop and cultivate thought and emotion.

So much for the literary side, but he thought that Tagore had also a call to our attention and admiration as the greatest seer of India at the present day. Mrs. Sen had given numerous specimens of Tagore's hymnology, and the speaker thought that all felt, in spite of the inadequacy of translations, what a wonderful sense of the nearness of God to man was to be found in it. It was not an echo of other people's thoughts, but an intense expression of a gifted soul's own spiritual experiences. As such it found an echo in us—in our poor struggling unregenerate humanity. For seers like Tagore represented the essence of that universal religion which people were groping for all over the East and the West. That was what made "God the Invisible King" such a remarkable book. But there was one clear antithesis. Mr. Wells hankered after a finite and a tentative God. Our Eastern quest was for the Infinite and the Absolute.

The third point the speaker would wish to speak about was led up to from this: that Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore was not only a great force in literature, a great seer who could see visions of the future, but also a practical educationalist. The speaker thought that many present must have seen the recent book of Mr. Pearson's on the great school at Bolpur. When read and interpreted in the light of the poetry of Rabindra Nath one realized that the Indian seer had a vision that after all was not so visionary as some people would have it to be. One realized that the

Indian seer sets before himself a stern practical task, the task of applying all the greatest thought of the past to the present, and even more to the future. In that respect the speaker considered that Rabindra Nath spoke to the rising generation, the young people who will make the India of the future. Although he did not claim for the Bolpur school any greater merit than that it was an experiment, he did claim that it was an experiment which tried to bring out the best thought of India and to apply it to the most plastic intellects of India. He hoped to see from the school great future developments. He had met one *alumnus* of the school in London, who was studying sculpture, and his mental attitude towards art struck the speaker as a very fine testimony to the work the school was doing. He was not so much interested in the technique, although he was studying technique; he was not content with merely looking at and studying the works on sculpture that were to be found in this country and in Europe or America; but he tried to express out of all that he saw and studied the quintessence of thought and art, and to apply it to Indian conditions and the teaching he had obtained at Bolpur. The speaker considered that this threw some light upon the methods that should be applied to educational problems in India—not merely to copy, or lightly and airily to set aside, the results of experiments in other places, but carefully to bring all those into relation with our own minds and characters and history and civilization.

Mr. ABBAS ALI BAIG said that he had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mrs. Sen for her admirable paper. All present would agree with him that it had lifted the audience from prosaic commonplaces to the higher region of poetic thought. Had Mr. Rudyard Kipling, from whom a letter had been received by the Hon. Secretary, been present, he might perhaps have said that while she was reading her paper even the clouds were thundering their applause; and if the lady who had been mentioned by Lord Carmichael had been among the audience she might possibly have disagreed, and said they were rumbling and roaring out their disapproval. The speaker thought that the value of the lecture which had been delivered had been enhanced by its introductory portion, in which Mrs. Sen had very concisely traced the growth of those literary activities in modern Bengal which had moulded the Bengali language, now being enriched by the songs of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, which, as Mrs. Sen had told the meeting, were a source of inspiration and of high ideals to his countrymen. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore seemed to commune with Nature as Wordsworth did before him, and the spiritual bent of his mind had given a touch of purity to his writings. The poet possessed the double gift of a creative effort in his own language and of reproducing his thoughts in an equally attractive garb in another language, English, although Mrs. Sen had pointed out that the beauty and melody of the original could not be translated. But the translations, such as they were, had brought a wider circle of readers in touch with the poet's mind. The Indian Muse had never been silent even during great convulsions. In addition to the names of the poets that Mrs. Sen had mentioned, many more could be given from all parts of India. In a neigh-



bouring Province, Háli, for instance, had exercised as great an influence on the minds of the younger generation of Moslems. His poems aroused them to a proper sense of their present condition, and had quickened their impulses towards the higher destiny which they see before them. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's poems, however, were more varied, and ranged over a larger field. Mrs. Sen had given the meeting an idea of the subtle and indefinable influences of the poet's genius to elevate the soul, to move the emotions, and to stir the senses to a quicker perception of things. He was sure that all present would agree with him that Mrs. Sen had very richly earned a cordial vote of thanks.

Sir ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said he wished to support the vote of thanks to Mrs. Sen. On the subject of the paper the speaker had asked himself, how was it that this man of whom nobody in this country had heard not a great many years ago, who was not an Englishman, and to whom the English language was a foreign language, or had been at the outset, had gone, one might say, to the gates of the Immortals, had knocked at their door, and was claiming kinship with them? What was it he had done? What was it he had said? It seemed to the speaker that the answer could be put somewhat in this way: There was a mystic kingdom of thought which was common to the sages and the saints, to the prophet, the priest, and the poet; they all had admittance there, and they all had something to say. The sage gives tidings of open secrets of the Universe; the saint and the priest will tell of their gleams of the beatific vision; and the prophet would report his insight into the future. But the poet would tell you something about them all. The speaker's interpretation was that Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore had entered into this spirit land. He had been, if one might use such language, in the Sanctuary of Creation, and had been sending to the world through his poems, and to-day through Mrs. Sen, the message of what he saw and felt and thought. To the speaker, therefore, it seemed that the meeting owed a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Sen for having put this before them. There was one thing he must venture to tell Mrs. Sen—it is only the small poets who are locally owned, and few know much about them beyond their own little kingdom; but the great poets belong to all the world, and so we Westerners in England claim a share in the ownership of the Laureate of India. He was sure that all present would agree that Mrs. Sen deserved sincere thanks for helping on Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's work in bringing together the people of the East and of the West, and thus taking a share in the building up of the British Empire. The speaker also wished to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who, in spite of the thunder and the rain, had been good enough to attend, and had presided over a most successful meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, Mrs. Sen asks me to speak for her as well as for myself. On her behalf I am to tell you how glad and how thankful she is for the interest you have shown in her lecture, and that she hopes you will continue to deserve her thanks by taking still greater interest in the subject. For my own part I merely thank you for having allowed me to have a very pleasant afternoon.

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE STATE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF RUSSIA

BY BARON A. HEYKING, PH.D., D.C.L.

THE current idea of Russia amongst foreigners, especially before the Revolution, was that of a backward country with a torpid population, condemned to stagnation. I shall try to show that the Russian nation, even under the rule of the Tsars, was moved by unceasing aspirations after progress, and now that the fetters of Tsardom and bureaucracy have fallen, it has assumed the character of an advanced democracy.

Broadly speaking, the foundation of contemporary Russia is the work of Peter the Great, but even his genius must have failed to create a social structure so lasting and so capable of further development, had not the material at his command been equal to his great task. Let us characterize the founder and his material, the Russian nation, in a few words.

Peter the Great has often been accused of not having been sufficiently national in his reforms. Of course he believed in Western European methods. He had travelled widely, for the purpose of self-instruction, and also spent some time in England in order to acquaint himself with English life and methods. But none the less his personality and his whole life bear the characteristic features of *Russian* individuality. His aims were broad in the extreme, one might almost say immeasurable; his principles of action radical in the highest possible degree. He devoted himself to the task set before him with passionate self-renunciation, unreservedly serving his country with all the power at his command, even to the extent of passing the death sentence on his only son, who had dared to endanger his life-work by plotting with the reactionary party against him. At the same time, this all-powerful autocrat was as unsophisticated and simple in his behaviour towards all with whom he came into contact as Russians generally are.

From his own point of view Peter the Great was certainly right to revert to Western European methods of State organization. He realized that the only way by which Russia could secure herself against European aggression was by applying European methods. When the Japanese

ports, as the result of a quarrel with England, had been bombarded by British men-of-war, the Japanese nation realized that the European foe could only be held back by opposing him with their own weapons. That was the commencement of the European reforms of Japan and of her world-power. In the same way, when Northern Russia had been invaded by the armies of Charles XII. of Sweden,<sup>F</sup> and the untrained warriors of Peter the Great had been badly beaten at Narva, Peter had only one course open to him, namely, to reorganize his army on European lines, to supply them with the same up-to-date weapons, and use the same methods of warfare as those to which Charles owed his victory. That was the beginning of Russia's world-power. By the Battle of Poltava Russia was saved from Swedish supremacy. If Peter the Great had not had the foresight to reform the Russian army in this way, the north of Russia would undoubtedly have fallen a prey to Sweden. His reforms, therefore, must be regarded as constituting the right procedure for insuring to Russia the position she now occupies.

Peter the Great has also been criticized for his uncompromising attitude towards any elements in Russia which opposed him. But his true greatness manifested itself in his undeterred steadfastness, and his clear perception of the impossibility of carrying out his great reforms if hampered by the retrograde members of his antiquated Council of Boyars and the hitherto unchecked, conservative power of the clergy.

The material upon which he had to work—the Russian nation—consists at present of people two-thirds of whom speak the Russian language and belong to the Greek Orthodox faith or to religious sects akin to it, the remaining third being composed of various other races. The Great Russians, who are the centre and kernel around which the Empire crystallized, were Slavs. In appearance they were tall and of powerful build, with regular features, fair complexions, and blue eyes. The type is best preserved in some parts of the previously free State of Novgorod and in the forest regions of the north, while in the centre and east of Russia the population has somewhat changed its original type by the assimilation of Finnish and Mongolian tribes, with pronounced cheek-bones, round noses, and irregular facial contours. The Little Russian, in the south of Russia, possesses all the features of the Southern races, being dark, vivacious, endowed with a rich imagination, and devoted to music and poetry.

The language of the Great and Little Russians is sonorous. It is rich in vocabulary and inflexions of the verb, and presents one of the most perfect mediums for expressing the deepest thoughts and the most subtle emotions of the soul. It is very adaptable to the description of all the varied circumstances of life. It is the surest guarantee of the future of the Russian nation, being in itself a monument of greatness and of intellectual wealth and strength. I have met Englishmen in Russia who, without having lost touch with their English nationality, had become quite enthusiastic about the beauty of the Russian language. It is probably also due to this superiority of the language that among the leading theorists of Slavophilism and Panslavism in Russia, not only

Russian,\* but also German names are found, such as Müller, Freygang, Dahl, Grot, and others. The genius of such literary giants as Pushkin, Lermontoff, Gogol, Alexis and Leo Tolstoi, Turgenieff, Dostoievsky, and others, would have been of little effect had they not had at their command the Russian language, in which the Russian soul has found its most perfect expression.

Contemporary Russia has been "gathered," as it is put in historic Russian language, first of all by the Great Russians.

The foundation of this great Empire has been the result of the energy, valour, and strong-headed statesmanship of the Muscovite Tsars, who in a series of victorious wars overcame the Tartars, the Poles, the Livonian Order, the Swedes, the Northern Russian Republics of Pskoff and Novgorod, and the rebellious Little Russians, and succeeded everywhere in establishing their rule. In addition, a series of enterprising private individuals like Yermak, the conqueror of Siberia, helped to increase the territory of the Empire, rendering for Russia similar services to those rendered by Raleigh, Francis Drake, Cook, and many others, for England. Thus the Great Russians have been the founders, augmenters, and preservers of the Empire. But none the less it cannot be overlooked that the above-mentioned one-third of Russia's population which belongs to other races, as, for instance, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Baltic Germans, the Finlanders, the Letts, the Esthonians, the Caucasians, and the different tribes inhabiting the south-east and the east of the Empire, had also a certain share in that achievement. Of course, half-civilized races, such as the Samoyeds, Kalmuks, Kirghiz, Yakuts, Kamtchadale, and so on, could not possibly exercise any influence on Russian history. On the other hand, people who were, at the time of their conquest by Russia, more advanced in civilization than the Great Russians themselves were bound to exercise an influence on the destinies of the Empire.

By the law of the Empire the population was divided into four groups or classes—the Clergy, the Nobility, the Burghers, and the Peasants. Their several functions in the State and in the social fabric of the nation differed considerably. Religion and Church have always been of paramount importance in Russia. The Russian is by nature religious; he likes his whole life to be in constant touch with religious practices, and he attaches great importance to Church ceremonies. He strictly observes religious holidays, and is a conscientious church-goer. He keeps fast-days, worships before the ikons with which every home is adorned, and

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\* Madame Olga Novikoff, Russian Slavophile as she is, feels obliged to admit the following fact. Referring to the same subject, in "Russian Memories" (Jenkins), p. 297, she writes:

"Every Russian—even those with scanty and superficial education—should always remember certain names with gratitude.

"Let me take a few names at random. The best friend of the Slavonic cause was Hilferding. The great Academician, A. Behr, has opened Russia's eyes to our fishing riches, a great branch of our commerce. Ostaken, who took the Russian name of Vostokoff, was the author of 'Slavonic Philology.' . . . Then there were Barclay de Tolly, Todtleben, and many others, who will always live in our history."—A. R.

frequently makes the sign of the Cross. Religion has, up to the present, played a very important part in the life of the nation, and has acquired a more national significance than in any other European country.

The national position of the Orthodox Church in Russia has been determined by the particular course of historic events. Although the Christian faith was introduced into Russia from Byzantium, and, moreover, the High, or so-called "Black," clergy in Russia belonged during the ninth and tenth centuries for the most part to the Greek nationality, the Greek Orthodox Church soon acquired a Russian national character. The Apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, translated the Greek liturgical books into the Slavonic language, and thus gave to the Russian Orthodox Church its own national service. When Constantinople in 1453 was conquered by the Turks, the independence of the Russian Orthodox Church from her previous religious metropolis became assured.

At the head of the Russian Church stood the Patriarch of Moscow, who occupied a position independent of State rule. Peter the Great considered it necessary for the centralization of power to abolish the Patriarchate and replace it by the Holy Synod, which up to the present time has been composed of the high dignitaries of the Church appointed by the Tsar, and one representative of the lay element, the Supreme Procurator of the Holy Synod, whose duty it is to watch the interests of the State. The resolutions of the Synod required to be sanctioned by the Tsar, and as the Synod controls all the administration of the Church, including its financial affairs, the Tsar became its all-powerful guardian. He did not care to interfere in questions of religious dogma, which were left to be settled by the Tserkovni Sobor (the Church Council); but in other respects Peter the Great made the Church an instrument of the State, and himself and the State instruments of the Church.

This form of State government cannot be called "Cæsaro-Papacy," as it is sometimes named erroneously; but at any rate the Russian Orthodox Church is a national State institution.

The father and predecessor of Peter the Great, Tsar Alexis Michaelovitch, commanded the Patriarch Nikon to correct mistakes in the translation of the Holy Books. Nikon's corrections, which were by no means a reform, but were only meant to be an improvement of the texts which had been transcribed, with many mistakes, by ignorant monks, brought about a religious schism, by which those who refused to accept the corrections of Nikon broke away and formed a separate body called the "Old Believers." These Old Believers had to endure many hardships until the year 1905, when they were recognized by the Russian Government. However, the Orthodox Church has still the prerogative of religious propaganda, while all other denominations are forbidden to proselytize.

The religious mind of the Russian people has also found expression in numerous religious sects, of which many bear distinct traces of higher spiritual conceptions and purer ethical principles.

The veneration of the numerous saints is another feature of the same order. Lectures describing their pious life, charity, Christian forbearance,

and confidence in God, form a most popular pastime among the peasants at village social gatherings.

Up to the time of Peter the Great, the clergy were the chief representatives of national culture. When the House of Rurik, the founder of the Empire, had died out, the nation turned to Philaret, Patriarch of Moscow, asking him to crown his son, Michael Romanoff, Tsar of Russia.

Peter the Great, as has been said before, revised the position of the clergy in the State and gave precedence to the nobility.

It fell to the lot of the Russian nobility to become the chief factor of progress, of learning, and of intellectual development in Russia. They were able to fulfil this mission because they were not a caste or class, but an estate or group which constantly recruited itself from the various strata of the population, and stood in the closest connection with it. The old feudal idea of nobility, derived from the possession of land, had been abolished by the Tartar yoke. Later on, the surviving remnants of the old Boyars were suppressed through the drastic measures of Ivan the Terrible and his successors. Peter the Great encountered no difficulty in establishing a new nobility founded on the idea of State service. On the other hand, only members of old noble families were admitted to it. Catherine the Great rescinded that condition, but still the State service remained in practice accessible only to noblemen, and in addition they had the privilege of possessing serfs.

Thanks to the liberal reforms of Alexander II., these restrictions were abolished. Henceforth the Government service was open to everyone. The right to become an hereditary nobleman was acquired by all who had reached the rank of actual State Councillors, Lieutenant-Generals, or Vice-Admirals, or those who had received the Order of St. Vladimir. These distinctions were earned by a great number of persons, and this put the qualification for nobility on a very broad basis. By the abolition of serfdom the democratization of the principle of aristocracy was carried a step further, seeing that the nobility lost that privilege, which was tantamount to the right of owning land, as land without serfs had no value.

Since 1861 the Russian nobility have sold the greater part of their land, chiefly to peasants, descendants of serfs; and being no longer in possession of land they have become a group of State employees, people engaged in liberal professions, representatives of provincial self-government, and so forth. This virtual revolution has brought about a closer connection between the nobility and the rest of the population, and has been facilitated by the absence of titles and by the custom of addressing noblemen by their surnames and patronymics just like anybody else. Moreover, marriages took place between members of the nobility and other groups of the population without any suggestion of *mésalliance*.

It is true that Russia has also a titled nobility, but this does not take precedence in any way over the untitled nobility, except in the case of members of the Imperial House before the revolution. The numerous princes were the offspring of the feudal Rurik princes, or were descended from Tartar or Caucasian princes. Representatives of other titled classes

—counts, barons, “vons,” etc.—held their lineage for the most part from conquered provinces, as, for instance, Poland, the Baltic provinces, or Finland. But as a title in Russia is not necessarily connected with wealth or political influence, it is of little practical value. Socially, noble lineage is less thought of in Russia than in any other European country. Moreover, plutocratic tendencies and the power exercised by the possession of wealth play in Russia a comparatively small part. Clever and gifted men, of whatever origin, can rise to the highest honours and position. For instance, Admiral Makarof, General Kuropatkin, and many others, were of peasant origin.

With few exceptions, as, for instance, in the case of the founder of modern Russian literature, Lomonosoff (1711-1765), who was the son of a peasant, the chief poets, artists, literary and learned men, all belonged to the nobility. Zhukovsky, Pushkin, Lermontoff, Gogol, Turgenieff, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoi, came from the land-owning nobility. This gives some idea of the important part which the Russian nobility have played in the intellectual development of the nation. It can be asserted that in Russia before the revolution, roughly speaking, almost anyone of importance belonged to the nobility, but that, on the other hand, there was no insurmountable obstacle to anyone becoming a nobleman.

It is apparent, therefore, that in their inception and position the Russian nobility differ absolutely from the plutocratic aristocracy of Great Britain. Russia has no nobility in the English sense of the word. There is no room and no necessity for it in Russia. Her nobility occupied the position, and has the character and importance, of the gentry or upper middle-class in England. This difference bore out the democratic character of the Russian Empire, which may be described before the revolution as a democracy furnished with a bureaucracy administered by a supreme autocratic power.

The third group, the burghers, “Meshtchanie,” is not very well defined at the present time, as the greater part of the nobility have, as mentioned above, taken up their residence in the towns, the population of which is also mixed with a large number of peasants who have left the land in order to gain a livelihood elsewhere. The Meshtchanie were composed originally of the merchant and artisan class. The merchants were intended by Peter the Great to form a close corporation, but later on various laws interfered with these limitations, with the result that from a practical point of view there seems at present no intrinsic necessity for a special group of burghers.

On the other hand, the fourth group, the peasants, form up to the present a well-defined separate body, endowed with special privileges and obeying special regulations. This group is the real mainstay of Russia, as Russia, broadly speaking, is a peasant State. Up to 1861 the peasants were serfs in the sense of being “glebæ adscripti”—that is to say, they were bound to remain at their place of abode, and belonged to the proprietors of the land. Broadly speaking, serfdom was a patriarchal form of social structure; the brutality which naturally resulted from the system was in some cases mitigated by the practical interest which kindly

landlords took in the welfare of their serfs, by the common religion and race of both, and by the naturally gentle and forbearing nature of the Russian. But of course this deplorable system led to abuses, and to a state of dependence bordering on slavery. It condemned the greater part of the population of Russia to a state of perpetual stagnation and an utter lack of personal freedom. Agriculture was carried on by old and inefficient methods. A part of the land was used in common, and belonged to the peasant community as a whole—the "*mir*." According to the changes in the number of "souls," this land was constantly subdivided by the community under the direct control of the landlord, who had the right to demand a certain amount of work to be done by the peasants on his own estate in return for their allotment. When serfdom and the right of the landlord to the labour of the peasants was abolished by Alexander II. in 1861, the common land remained at the disposal of the latter, and the landlord received from the State, as compensation for the loss of their labour, money certificates bearing percentages, and subject to redemption. The State in its turn imposed upon the village communities as a whole a tax, arranging for the payment of the percentage to the landlord and the gradual redemption of the money certificate. These certificates have now all been redeemed.

The peasant community, the *mir*, had to fix the amount to be paid by each person. It had the power to exact penalties from those who did not pay their quota at the right time, and even possessed the right to administer corporal punishment or to exile to Siberia any persons so condemned. To a great extent the *mir* thus took over the rights previously exercised by the landlords, and the peasants found themselves economically in a state of even greater dependence than before the abolition of serfdom. The harshness of this system was the direct result of the above-mentioned principle that the village community as a whole was responsible for the payment of the taxes. This system, the *krugovaia porouka*, meant practically that the industrious, sober, and worthy peasant had to pay for the lazy, drunken, and worthless one. Socialistic cranks tried to find in the *krugovaia porouka* a cure for all social evils. The *mir* system was praised as a panacea and an ideal arrangement for counteracting all the ills that exist, owing to the difference between those who have and those who have not. Unfortunately, in practice, the advantages of the *mir* and of the *krugovaia porouka* proved to be illusory. The common ownership of the land involved a constant new partition of it, and made it impossible to improve the methods of cultivation.

The abolition of serfdom achieved only personal freedom; it did not at all provide for economic prosperity and progress. The great economic advantages and moral value of personal ownership of the land had been totally left out of account by the reforms of 1861. The reformers did not wish to depart from the old principle that the ownership of land was assured to each individual through its common ownership by the village as a whole. But the constant increase of the population was necessarily followed by a corresponding decrease of the area which could be allotted to each person. In many parts of the country these allotments became



too small to maintain a family. The happy (or rather unhappy) possessors of such allotments had therefore to look out for a living in the towns, in industrial works, and so forth, and derived no real benefit from the theoretically glorious fact that he was a member of the *mir* and, as such, a landowner.

On the other hand, the primitive methods of agricultural cultivation diminished increasingly the productivity of the soil. The average production of corn on one acre of peasant land in Russia in the years 1899-1906 did not exceed 670 kilogrammes, while in Western Europe such a piece of land would yield three times this amount. Lack of rational cultivation of the land also produced harvest failures, which repeated themselves with increasing frequency, for instance, in the years 1891, 1897, 1898, 1901, 1906, 1907, and 1908. But more than any other consideration, the agrarian upheavals which followed the disasters of the Japanese War made it apparent to Russian statesmen that fundamental agricultural reforms were badly needed.

It was the Prime Minister Stolypin who had the courage to break with the old methods of the *mir*, advising the Tsar to promulgate an Imperial Order on March 17, 1906, by which every village community received the right to decide by a majority of two-thirds whether they wanted to convert the common ownership of the land into freehold property, to be divided amongst the peasants of the village. This left it entirely to the peasants themselves to decide for or against private ownership. The advantages of private ownership, for the purpose of improving land culture and creating more energetic individual exertions from a sense of personal pride, are so evident that common ownership of the land in Russia is now gradually disappearing in favour of the former system. The consequence of this momentous reform will be to insure to the peasant community—comprising some eighty per cent. of the population of Russia—a secure prosperity in the future.

Having thus reviewed the chief characteristics of the organization of the Empire in the past, we may consider the last phase of the evolution of Russia brought about by the Revolution.

History teaches us that progressive reforms or more energetic movements in favour of progress, as, for instance, revolutions of a progressive nature, are often the direct result of great shocks experienced through international cataclysms. In Russia, the Crimean War brought in its train, some years later, the period of the great progressive reforms of Alexander II. The war with Japan was followed by the October constitutional reforms. The present great war, in which Russia found herself in close association with her allies, is hoped to result in further economic, social, and political progress, such as the Revolution has given her.

Economic development was necessitated by the extreme deficiency of means of communication, and by the great lack of industrial production and organization, which the war brought home so forcibly to the consciousness of the nation as serious menaces to its safety. Such progress has to be realized by the imperative necessity of developing the un-

bounded riches of the soil and the mineral reserves of the Empire, by improvements in the methods of agriculture, and by the application of higher technical skill in the exploitation of those reserves. The exportation of goods from the Empire must be considerably increased so as to augment the trade balance of Russia, and to pay for the debt to foreign countries contracted during the war.

Social and political progress was the natural result of the part played in the war by the *Zemstvos* (County Councils) and by the municipal authorities and peasant communities. Up to the time of the war, the Government was accustomed to provide for the needs of the country, relying exclusively on its own resources. But the requirements of war, and especially the need of a supply of munitions on an unprecedented scale, made it necessary for the Government to apply to the nation at large for assistance in carrying on the war. That call was answered with the same enthusiasm as has been shown in the great emergency by the British. The close co-operation between the Government and the people, which has borne such good fruit, was bound to make the masses conscious of their own importance. Moreover, the peasants, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the army, have borne a terrible burden of physical and material losses in this war, and at the same time have felt that their power was the real foundation of the Empire. Imagine what it meant to the peasant, whose ordinary life was formerly confined to work in the fields and to family ties, to be thrown together with the other fighting men during the past two and a half years, discussing with them the reasons for the conflagration and the future prospects and conditions of life in general. What an incentive all that must have been for promoting his intellectual development and broadening his horizon! The outcry of the peasant for education, for a more satisfactory state of well-being, and a more pronounced recognition of his political importance in the structure of the State, pressed for consideration.

Political progress was also assured by the influence which Great Britain was, and is, exercising in Russia in substitution for that of Berlin. English influence on Russia has always been rightly considered as being of a liberal nature, tending to promote political reforms. Up to the Revolution the Duma controlled to a great extent the finances of the Empire, and no law could be passed without its consent save in cases of exceptional emergency provided for by the Constitution, and any criticism of the Government could be discussed in the House. But it had no decisive vote in the formation of the Cabinet, which was solely responsible to the Emperor, and not to the Duma. The members of the Cabinet were chosen and appointed in the German fashion solely by the Emperor, and, moreover, in the days before the Revolution they did not enjoy the confidence of the chosen representatives of the nation. The creation of a Parliamentary form of Government, with its responsibility to the nation, was therefore the necessary stepping-stone to further development.

The necessity for progress also made itself felt in the intolerable bureaucratic centralization of the administration of the vast Empire as opposed to local self-government.

Freedom of thought and conscience, and religious equality, had to be assured to all Russian citizens in the same way as has been done in all Western European States. The interference of religion in matters of fundamental interest to the State and the interference of the State in matters of fundamental interest to religion had to be eliminated.

A sound constructive policy demanded the consolidation of the population of the Empire under the higher denominator of common citizenship, in the way that this has been achieved in Great Britain, the United States, Switzerland, and other well-organized communities where differences of religion and race have been reduced to secondary importance by the cohesion afforded in identical public interests, common duties, and the supreme aim of insuring to the whole the greatest amount of power and prosperity. Russia has already made a very promising step in that direction by her reconciliation with the Poles and the Finlanders, thus assuring their autonomy, and in the case of the Poles even their independence.

It was of paramount importance that the *internal order* of the State should rest on sounder foundations than before; that, for instance, a recurrence of pogroms—namely, the wilful persecution of a certain set of people and the destruction of their property, whether they be Russian landowners, Jews, or others—should never again take place. Last, but not least, the spreading of knowledge and education was a necessary condition for any further economic and political progress. The Imperial Government of the past, with its bureaucratic rule, was hopelessly deficient in this respect.

Russia has not yet decided whether she will adopt a republican or a monarchical form of government, but judging by the tenor of the Russian newspapers, a Republic is more likely.

There are those who consider that Russia is as yet unripe for a Republic. They think the step would be too abrupt to be safe. But, after all, if the character of the Russian people and the course of Russian history are taken into account, such an advance seems to be natural.

It has already been mentioned that not less than eighty per cent. of the Russian population are simple peasants, who can well understand that a master must be implicitly obeyed. But it is beyond their comprehension that a Tsar should submit to the rule of a Parliament, and should accept Ministers chosen not by him, but by that Parliament. The peasant could not understand of what use a Tsar would be who had not the power to enforce his will.

On the other hand, the direct rule of the people is a principle which is implanted in the Russian nation from remote historic times, and has preserved its nature hitherto in the form of the aforementioned village communities—the *mir*, who are self-governing, and have great administrative power, and in many other institutions and usages, as, for instance, the *Artels*, *Zemstvos* (County Councils), Co-operative Societies, and so forth, which all bear witness to the strong leaning of the Russian nation towards self-government and democracy.

It can therefore be assumed that the Russian nation would understand

a Republic far better than a Constitutional Monarchy. It is a significant fact that so far since the Revolution no candidate to the throne has ventured to assert himself. In previous times of national upheavals the disorder was aggravated by the fact that several pretenders appeared on the scene, who fought one another and prevented the country from settling down to normal conditions. In the present case nothing of the sort has happened, because everyone seems pleased to be rid not only of the Tsar, but of Tsardom altogether; and if no dissensions break out among the popular leaders, it will be apparent to all that a popular rule, with its accompanying freedom and equal chances for all, has come to stay. After all, Russia is a State of peasants, and just as in the case of the former peasant States of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony the republican form of government seemed to be natural, so that form also appears to be the best for Russia.

Moreover, it must be taken into account that the Tsar took over the heritage of the Tartar Khans. The Tartar rule in Russia, which extended over more than two hundred years, was not overthrown by violent and precipitous action, but was, so to say, absorbed by the Russian people. A great number of the Tartars became Russianized; their method of government consisted chiefly in extracting tribute from the people, and as the Khans grew more and more feeble and nerveless, the Grand Duke of Moscow, who acted as their vassal, found it comparatively easy to declare his independence much in the same way as the Majors-Domo in France supplanted the Kings to whom they owed their allegiance. Thus Russia continued to be under a species of Tartar rule even after the Tartars had disappeared. The Grand Dukes of Moscow, who declared themselves Tsars of Russia, did not occupy the position of the Russian Rurik princes of the feudal period of Russia, but became purely and simply the successors of the Tartar Khans. In that connection it can almost be said without exaggeration that only by the Russian Revolution of our time has Russia succeeded in throwing off the last remnants of the Tartar yoke, reverting to the ancient days when the Republics of Pskoff and Novgorod flourished.

Again, there is speculation in England concerning the possibility of the establishment of a Republic in Russia. Some think that the unity of this huge Empire could not be maintained under this form of government, and that dismemberment would be inevitable. This presumption, however, is entirely without foundation. Switzerland, although consisting of three different nationalities, and divided into many cantons, which enjoy a great amount of self-government, preserves its unity, not by the existence of a sovereign, but through its Federal Council. Similarly, the United States of America, which embrace a great number of States of very different conditions and developments of culture, preserve their unity under the republican form of government. Russia has, by her Parliament and Supreme Council, organs which sufficiently assure her unity. But if, after all, it is found that the existence of a sovereign to safeguard that unity is necessary, Russia may become a Constitutional Monarchy. This will be decided by the Constitutional Assembly.

## A GREAT SON OF POLAND

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

THE *Moscow Gazette* has just published an article on the great Polish poet and patriot Mickiewicz, a few extracts from which would, I am sure, interest English readers, especially now that the Polish question is undoubtedly coming to the front. A Russian translation of the poet's most famous work, "The Book of the Polish People and the Polish Pilgrimage," has just been issued. It may be remembered that this work, which was first published in 1832, was placed on the "Index" by the Pope very soon after its appearance, having in the meantime called forth the most rapturous and reverent eulogies from authorities like Lammenais and Montalembert. The Poles indeed look upon this book almost in the light of a national gospel. It was first published when its author had already settled in Paris, the work being directly influenced by the recent Polish rising, which Mickiewicz had personally witnessed. "It seems to me," he wrote about that period, "that a time will come when it will be necessary to be a saint in order to be a poet, and when divine inspiration and the comprehension of mysteries unattainable to the ordinary human mind will be indispensable to the public success of creative art. I often think that, like Moses, I shall only see from afar the Promised Land of Poetry, for I do not feel myself worthy of entering within its gates."

It will be seen from these words that the moral tone of

Mickiewicz's work is exceedingly high, and even if there is much in this book with which we Russians cannot agree, we can at least always understand and sympathize, for the spirit of all the author's thoughts touches us nearly and deeply.

This same divine inspiration of which he speaks, this combining of the poetical with the religious idea, is indeed well known to our own thinkers. It is to such supersensitive understanding that Dostoeffsky aspired.

Mickiewicz, in his "Book of the Polish People," comes before us in the combined rôles of philosopher, politician, religious thinker, and poet, but it is only the two latter that come naturally to him, for he is first and foremost a poet, and has neither the knowledge nor the objectiveness essential to the task of the political historian. Nevertheless, his poetical intuition is indisputable, and shines through his every thought, and his ideals frequently resemble those of the Russian Slavophiles, who have opened up such a wide and glorious horizon for the national ideal.

Dostoeffsky, in his system of human development, assigns a large rôle to the Russian people. His conception stands on the border line between philosophy and poetry; and who among us would lay aside Dostoeffsky in favour of even the greatest among foreign thinkers?

Mickiewicz's is in no sense a political document, but as the lyrical confession of the author's soul it is valuable even at the present day.

Although exiled from his beloved country, the poet, in his dreams, dwells eternally in the dear home-land. This yearning of the spirit for the past, far away from sad, contemporary actualities, is natural, and well known to all romantics. It may indeed be said that in none of his works has Mickiewicz been so romantic as in this interesting book.

The work is divided into several parts, of which the first—*i.e.*, "The Book of the Polish People"—forms an introduction. This introduction is a history of the world according to the Polish poet's fancy, a history divided into two

epochs, the one lasting from the Creation till the martyrdom of the Polish people, the other from that martyrdom until the moment of Poland's resurrection. This resurrection ushers in a new era, which Mickiewicz does not touch.

The world's history is an eternal struggle for freedom, where subjection to tyranny and victory over injustice constantly alternate. In those moments when injustice triumphs nations run wild.

"The Polish people alone have refrained from bowing down to this idol, so much so that even their language has failed to find a name for the worshippers of injustice. The Polish nation has trusted in God, knowing that he who honours God honours also all that is good and noble in life."

Injustice put an end to all this, and with its coming began the Polish Pilgrimage. In this way Mickiewicz passes to the second part of his book. "The Soul of the Polish People," he exclaims, "that is the Polish pilgrimage."

Poland has territory and people, but the breath of life is lacking to animate these people—the breath of life called "Liberty." It is very unfortunate that Mickiewicz did not take the trouble to explain clearly what he meant by that greatly misunderstood and sometimes purposely misused word. In revolutionary times no doubt many words are used in a mad, hurried way, but very few people care to understand thoroughly the real sense of the word, which no doubt sounds well, and seems to fit in, and is accepted as being all right. That philological precaution is better realized in our days, and particularly now in Russia. But some hundred years ago many ideas and motives were used at random, heedlessly. The same may be said about the word "Poland," as representing a very confused idea. Is it the realm proclaimed by the Grand-Duke Nicholas—as destined to be freed after the war, that is Russian Poland, Posen, and Galicia—or only the Russian Kingdom of Poland? That is not all: what is meant by Russian Poland? The real Kingdom of Poland annexed by Russia? or does it include a part of Russia proper, *i.e.*, Volhynia,

and even Smolensk, as was proclaimed by some Polish dreamers?

But let us return to our poet's dream. It has not been withdrawn for ever, but it has been wafted away into the future, and its renewal will once more mean Poland's resurrection. To attain this end is not easy. "The Pole has sworn to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land of his country's freedom, and to continue his wanderings till the goal is reached." And so, in a long sequence of parables and word-pictures, the poet points out to his beloved countrymen the way of their pilgrimage. Ever observant and thoughtful, this passionate, untiring patriot did not shut his eyes to the shortcomings of the people he strove to serve. He was ready, indeed, to forget and forgive all their past sins, because, in his own words, "one can find a judge for every judgment and an executioner for every punishment." \* But Mickiewicz was far from being either a judge or an executioner; he was instead, on the contrary, a leader and a prophet. "Good people always judge from the good side," and one can always forgive the sins of the past, when they are not repeated in the present. The poet saw very clearly the hot-headedness of his compatriots, and their constant readiness to disagree and quarrel on the smallest pretext. His emigrant life in Paris, indeed, spent almost exclusively in a Polish circle, brought him, in this connection, many a bitter moment. These, his quarrelsome brothers, Mickiewicz compares to a shipwrecked crew, who, instead of devising means of escape from the desert island on which they have been stranded, spend all their time in quarrelling about who was to blame for the shipwreck!

The pages of the "Book of the Polish People" reveals great energy and that spirit of leadership which never falters, even in the most trying moments. The author never admits disappointment or the possibility of failure, even under the darkest conditions. One must always be ready for the morrow. "Prepare your souls," says



Mickiewicz. It is this wisdom, this constant readiness for action, this enthusiasm and devotion to an ideal, that win the sympathies of even the most indifferent readers of the Polish poet's work.

Among Mickiewicz's most cherished ideals was always that of "Messianism." He introduced this idea everywhere, even in the course of some lectures on Slavonic literature, which he delivered at the Collège de France. It also shines through his correspondence, but here it is not clothed in such mystic forms as in the "Book of the Polish People."

Our celebrated philosopher and scholar, Vladimir Solovieff, in speaking of the fate of Mickiewicz, expresses himself as follows: "The ruin of his personal happiness did not change him into a disappointed misanthrope and pessimist; the ruin of his country did not make of him an indifferent cosmopolitan; the inward struggle for sincere religious conviction as opposed to external authority did not turn him into an enemy of the Church. At each step upwards on the ladder of moral development he carried with him not proud and empty disdain, but only love and charity for those climes for which he was rising—that constitutes his greatness."

There are many among us to-day who can in this respect learn a great lesson from the Polish poet-patriot, and I do not hesitate to recommend the perusal of his works to all who read, who think, and who understand.

## SISTER AUGUSTINE BEWICKE OF SALONICA

BY MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE

A TELEGRAM to *The Times*, in the summer of 1916, announcing Sister Augustine's death, that all Macedonia was mourning her, and, after a few very sympathetic words concerning her life work, mentioning that the Bulgarian Bishop had died on the same day (although happily mistaken as to both deaths), drew forth such evidently heartfelt appreciations of my sister's life and character in the Press and in private letters, and gave rise to so many questions that, before all those who can answer them pass away, it seems well to give a short summary of the events of her life.

Her father, Calverley Bewicke, of Hallaton Hall, Leicestershire, having broken a blood-vessel rowing "stroke" in the Oxford boat at the great race, and married his cousin, was sent to Madeira on the bare chance of possibly prolonging life, and Nora Bewicke was born there in April, 1843—a delicate, brilliantly clever, and much loved daughter and sister. With but two visits to England she remained there until it was time to send the younger brothers to school. And then the sudden shock came—the father, who had for years lived as a strong man, though with only half a lung, dying at Lisbon on the way home. The next year his wife, unable to bear life without him, died too. After some years in the Isle of Wight, it was on

the occasion of the great Vatican Council that, journeying across Mont Cenis, an enthusiastic Jesuit missionary, invalided from China, tried to convert the young party of three sisters and a brother, until repeated fits of coughing forced him to desist. But his words remained, and it was to the Jesuit College in Rome Nora Bewicke went when thinking of joining the Church of Rome. Then came the Franco-Prussian War, and two of the sisters at once volunteered to nurse the wounded. Travelling to Paris, they were there rejected on account of their youth (which would now only be considered a recommendation), and Nora entered a convent at Auteuil to be received into their faith ; then, not finding that the expected wounded came there, joined the American Ambulance, and was soon placed in charge of a small round tent for French officers.

It was in 1874 she entered the Seminary of St. Vincent, to be trained as one of his daughters, and in 1875 was sent to Issoudun ; then, the year following, to Siena, where she worked for eight years in the great hospital. From there, in 1884, she was sent to London to start the Italian hospital. Insufficient supplies, and repeated fogs perhaps, led to her being pronounced unfit for the English climate ; she was removed in 1886 to Salonica, and from that date has belonged to the Balkans. Sent to Prisren in 1889, the scenery and the people there seem to have at once twined themselves round her heart ; but the climate was too rude, and in 1890 she was removed to Smyrna, whence she was recalled in 1891 to Salonica, thenceforward to be her home. When Lady Grogan (then Lady Thompson) and the girl, now Lady Scott (of Antarctic fame), went to Kastoria to distribute relief funds in 1904, Sister Augustine was told off to help them, and as both the Sister with her and the girl with Lady Grogan fell victims to the prevailing fever, she had a heavy task, all the beds of the sick being on the floor, and wrote that she wondered if she should ever stand upright again.

In a list of her movements Sister Augustine puts a special

mark against Kastoria, "because it made a mark in my life, bringing me into contact with English people again after so many years." Besides these four months' relief work she often went across snow-covered mountains, along precipices brigand-frequented, fearing nothing, so that she might relieve suffering. On one occasion she had to ask a Turk to lift her off her donkey, she was frozen so stiff. To the outside world of Salonica, Sister Augustine, with whom they directly come in contact, represents all the enterprising benevolence, the loving patience, and the sympathetic helpfulness of the Order of St. Vincent. She has been for years told off to deal with all the sorrows and troubles of the outside world; and among Levantines who has not sorrows? In the Balkan States who is not in trouble?

A young Jew, accustomed to help in her benevolent schemes, returned from an up-country relief distribution, remarking: "I have learnt that it is not enough to give money; poor people need encouragement and sympathy quite as much. It is Sister Augustine who knows the right way to help."

In somewhat early days she had started a home for lonely and destitute old men and women of mixed nationality, thus with a special claim upon no nation, assigning to each a little separate abode, and, wherever possible, a child to be taken care of, so that the old people might not feel themselves useless, that tragedy of old age; a little enclosure in which to keep chickens, or, if the child were a boy, rabbits; a tiny garden in which to grow flowers or vegetables, at least a salad. To get all arranged was a considerable undertaking, to keep the inmates in peace and amity a greater. For the support of the houses she opened a laundry, which still flourishes, establishing now for Salonicans the astonishing figures as to collars, cuffs, and aprons that English hospital nurses require weekly to be washed, ironed *and* starched.

Before soldiers came in numbers, the arrival of some nation's fleet was almost a matter of prayer for the old

people. For the English fleet naturally the one English Sister had a special care. "For look you, Sister," said an Admiral's smart coxswain many years ago, "I look upon you as the only representative of England here," thus ignoring the British Consul-General. She took the man's words to heart, and against the fleet's return had won over one of the innumerable restaurants stretching along the crescent-shaped Bay, finished off by the snowy range off Mount Olympus to the south-west. No spirits were to be sold in the Sister's restaurant, and only honest ale, un-doctored. She had a room set out with writing-paper and pens and newspapers, with pleasant seats to welcome the British blue-jackets. Then the fleet came in, and whilst other restaurants were full and riotous, not one man entered that of the Sister of St. Vincent. "Can you imagine my despair?" she asked. "But then I was told of a peculiarity of the British sailor—did you know it? When he comes on shore he always walks straight and enters the first place he comes to, without ever troubling to go to the right or left, or turn a corner to get to a better. People told me there was nothing—nothing to be done, for from time immemorial boats had always had the right to be moored in front of my restaurant, and there they were, a long string of them, that could not be turned away, so sailors could never walk straight in." But here was the opportunity for the British Consul-General! Sister Augustine went to him at once, and by the next morning there were all the boats moved away! No riot had ensued, only there were the bluejackets landing and walking straight—after the manner of their kind—into the restaurant prepared for them, rejoicing greatly at what they found there.

When the Italian-Turkish war began, it was Sister Augustine who helped all the poverty-stricken Italians to close up their little businesses and somehow or other to make for their own country. And when their country returned them, somewhat prematurely, it was she who helped them to start again, feeding and clothing them until

they could once again establish themselves. That helping of the Italians nearly used up her store of strength. As a girl she had always been weak and delicate, thought to require every comfort, and now she was nearing seventy on the homely food of the Sisters of St. Vincent, still rising at four in the morning, and wearing the same very heavy clothing summer and winter. How heavy that clothing, planned for France, feels in the sweltering tropics, or in scorched, rock-bound Salonica, only the Sisters who wear it know. In her early years in the Balkans Sister Augustine, speaking already Portuguese, French, German, and Italian, had managed to add to these Turkish and Bulgarian, for the care of the cruelly-used Bulgars in Macedonia had from the first fallen to her lot. "Come over and help us", through all the centuries has always been the cry from Macedonia. There were also many Bulgarian converts, their priests allowed to keep their wives and to use the Bulgarian language. She was sometimes called "the hope of the Bulgars," and when their German King Ferdinand sought to please his subjects he, in answer to their expressed wishes, sent her a Decoration. The Greeks, who had never noticed the sufferings of the Macedonians sufficiently even to know that she was helping them, began now to look askance at Sister Augustine.

But then came the great flight of the Turks, wearing out all the ladies who tried to help them, the Turkish misery was so tremendous. At first Sister Augustine went with another Sister, carrying heavy caldrons of hot soup to a mosque, and ladled it out while themselves standing in the snow or rain, the water running in and out of their rough, ill-fitting shoes. Then official bread distributions were organized, and the Sisters were invited to instal their soup-kitchen at the Ottoman Bank. Before their work was over King George of Greece was assassinated. He and his Queen Olga had shown special kindness and sympathy to Sister Augustine, and she struggled out to their villa to express her sorrow and respect. That was her last going

out for some time, and soon came a Good Friday when all day the Sister Superior did not leave her, sending for doctor after doctor, thinking that Sister Augustine was passing away. Gradually a little strength came back to her, but how to recover completely, in the germ-laden air of Salonica? In Kukush on the mountains the Sisters had another house, but only Bulgarian military trains ran to that station, and the order had just been given that not even officers' wives might travel by them. "Come, come, sirs," said the undaunted Sister Superior. "Have you ever known the Sisters refuse to nurse your men? and now, when one of us is ill——" So into a baggage-waggon early next morning Sister Augustine was bundled. Three officers and about a dozen soldiers already occupied it, but two chairs had been placed there, and now the sides were pushed back; thus she breathed once again the purer air of the country, passing by acacia-trees, white with fragrant blossom, and scarlet poppies, redder than ever, people said, because of all the blood that had been shed. How she rejoiced in Kukush, with its mountain air, Bulgarian converts under tolerant Bulgarian rule, and large, well-taught orphanages! She regained strength, but was all too quickly recalled to work among the ladies of Salonica. Shortly afterwards, Kukush, which Greeks used to call a Greek town, was bombarded by the Greeks, although unfortified. The old church, with all its strange Bulgarian mementoes, was burnt down. Of the inhabitants, those who could tried to fly across the terrible Rhodope Mountains; a few were sheltered in cellars beneath the pretty home of the Sisters, built by a Swiss Sister after the model of a chalet. The rest were massacred.

Now that Salonica is overful with the soldiers of many nations, Sister Augustine writes with delight of the goodness of our English soldiers—men who do not seek to cheat anyone, "so serious, so gentle"; and in a recent letter, telling of her many interruptions, says: "Everybody wants so many things and on such a large scale now—1,000 pieces

of linen for children, to be distributed in the villages ; 2,000 roses for the Northumberland Fusiliers ; 1,000 mosquito-nets ; all as soon as possible. I am delighted to get all these jobs, to be able to give people work, but the *soucis* they give me are not small."

One can understand how a Y.M.C.A. Secretary from India, who fell ill and was consigned to the Sister's hospital, wrote in the Y.M.C.A. *Weekly*: "There is not a British resident in Salonica, not an officer in the town for any length of time, who is not, in one way or another, indebted to Mother Augustine for some gentle act. She remains symbolical in a crude and harsh place of the peace and charity of an older world."

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### "THE INDIAN EMPIRE" FILM

By special arrangement with the Government of India, a series of films have been taken designed to show "the Power of India, the Loyalty of Indian States, etc.," which were shown on Friday, June 22, in London. In the first part is included "Pilgrimage to Mecca," "The Jain Festival," and Munition-Making in India. In the third part we see the Tata Iron and Steel Works ; and in the fourth part the Working of the Coal-Mines in Bihar and Orissa. The eighth part is devoted to the Training of the Indian Army ; whilst the ninth shows, amongst other things, the Punjab Irrigation Works and the Cotton Industry. It has been a splendid undertaking, admirably carried through, and we earnestly hope it will attain the maximum of publicity.



## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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### OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

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#### AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF GREATER INDIA \*

(Reviewed by SIR ROLAND K. WILSON)

The appearance of this pamphlet throws an interesting light on the conflicting currents of opinion in twentieth-century India. Time was when the entire public activity of the limited class of English-speaking Indians who aspired to think and act on behalf of India as a whole seemed to be concentrated on the periodical meetings of the Indian National Congress, where the same cut-and-dried resolutions were submitted year after year to a huge assembly of self-elected delegates, spoken to with more or less eloquence, and carried *nem. con.*; and where the main reliance was placed, for the realization of the reforms demanded, on the parliamentary activities of a group of Indophil members in the British House of Commons. These demands related mainly to the opening of higher and more remunerative posts in the public service to Indians, the cheapening of higher education for the professional classes, the extension of the reign of law and the exaltation of judicial at the expense of executive authorities, the limitation of the Government exactions from landholders, and generally the stoppage of the alleged drain of wealth from India to England. The means chiefly relied on were the tightening of control of the House of Commons over the India Office and of the India Office over the Viceroy. We hear nothing of all this from the section of New India represented by Mr. Panikkar. For the means of reform—generalizing somewhat rashly from the single instance of Lord Hardinge's action in the matter of Indians in South Africa—he looks to increasingly independent action on the part of the Government in India as opposed to Downing

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\* "An Introduction to the Study of Problems of Greater India," by K. M. Panikkar. 1916. Pp. 97.

Street; while as to the substance of reform, we are transported into a wholly new field of inquiry: the condition of the labouring classes in India itself, the conditions under which emigration should be permitted or encouraged, and the treatment of Indians who have migrated, or would like to migrate, to other parts of the British Empire. Then, at the back of all this, we come upon a still more novel feature—anxiety for the safeguarding of old Indian (by which the writer means Hindu) customs and beliefs against the encroachments of Western ideas, not only among Hindus in India, but among emigrant Hindus in all parts of the world.

In his first contention he stands on very strong ground. That any set of people can have a right to keep large portions of the surface of the globe sparsely inhabited and undeveloped, while other people are wishful to settle there, and willing to live in peace and amity with the first-comers, is a proposition very difficult for any moralist to defend, specially difficult for an Englishman, seeing that we, like other European nations, have invariably enforced the opposite doctrine at the point of the sword whenever it was for our interest to do so. The latest defence of the "White-Australia" policy is by the spokesman of the Round Table Conference, in the book called "The Problem of the Commonwealth," p. 61. Let us see what it amounts to.

"The non-European element (in the Empire)," says Mr. Curtis, "is mainly employed on manual labour, and can subsist on wages which are much lower than are necessary for the support of a European. Manual labour, therefore, tends to become monopolized by a coloured minority, and, what is still worse, the European majority\* come to regard it as beneath the dignity of a white man. They tend to confine themselves to the work of superintendence, and to become enervated. The sphere open to the white man steadily narrows, while that opened to the coloured man is continually enlarged, and while there is no room for white immigration, there is a steadily increasing demand for coloured labour. Thus, in actual practice the principle of free immigration would not mean that the white and coloured races would flow over the vacant territories in the proportion of one to seven. The proportion of coloured immigrants would steadily increase at the expense of the whites, and in the end the white would be exclusively confined to the work of political and industrial administration, as in India. The conditions which have rendered it impossible to establish responsible government in India would come to exist in the self-governing Dominions. They would, in fact, be converted into colonies of Asia, Africa, or Polynesia, and would cease to be in any real sense colonies of Europe. The vacant territories of the Commonwealth would be permanently resigned to the more backward and more numerous societies of mankind, and would cease for ever to be the homes of the races who have developed the highest civilization. From the standpoint of ultimate human values the establishment of such a principle

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\* *Sic* in the text. But surely "majority" and "minority" must have been transposed by oversight. We never yet heard of the happy country in which manual workers are a minority.

as free immigration would end in producing results as deplorable as they would be incapable of cure."

Now, supposing for one moment the facts to be as they are here assumed to be, what are we to think of the argument? It comes to this, that the development of the resources of one continent is to be retarded, and the population of another continent is to be overcrowded and sweated, rather than that the British-born workman should be forced to choose between doing the same work, skilled or unskilled, for the same pay as the coloured man, and so educating himself as to qualify for the higher work of supervision. As to being "enervated," a sound industrial system would put a stop to that by insisting that no one should be trusted to superintend work at which he had not personally served an apprenticeship. Moreover, as Mr. Panikkar does not fail to point out, it is not in human nature, whether coloured or white, to be content with low wages when higher are to be had for the asking, and it rests to a large extent with the Government to screw up the standard of life by appropriate sanitary and educational requirements.

Actually, however, so far at least as Indians are concerned, the facts are very different from what Mr. Curtis assumes them to be. The motives, capacities, and conduct of Indian emigrants are by this time not a matter of conjecture, but of fairly wide experience.

It may perhaps come as a surprise to a good many Englishmen to be told that "Greater India" (Mr. Panikkar's phrase, and a not very accurate one) is distributed all over the (tropical and sub-tropical) world, forming large communities in Portuguese East Africa, Mauritius, Federated Malay States, Fiji, Surinam, British Guiana, and the British islands of the West Indies; that their occupations range "from the captain of a large Dutch ocean-going steamer to the modest milkman and cart-driver," while it is estimated that at least sixty per cent. are engaged in agriculture. "The rice cultivation of British Guiana is wholly in their hands; the cocoa cultivation of Trinidad and the sugar-cane production of Mauritius are mostly worked and partly owned by them. It is estimated that they send home annually to their relatives in India something over £700,000"; and this in spite of having for the most part been brought out under the indenture system at ridiculously low wages. As for their supposed unfitness to take part in the working of a democratic constitution such as that of Australia, we have not the same guidance from experience, because the tropical countries above named are all more or less autocratically governed dependencies. But neither is there, as Mr. Curtis seems to suppose, any presumption against their fitness from the fact that it has not yet been found possible to grant to India as a whole full "responsible government." The causes which have hitherto delayed, and may still delay for a decade or so, this ultimately inevitable consummation, are well known, and have little or nothing to do with differences in the colour of the skin. These are, firstly, the vastness of the area and numbers to be dealt with, far exceeding any country at present under parliamentary government; and, secondly, the bewildering variety of race, religion, language, and mental development, ranging from the highest to the very lowest

in the scale of humanity. Neither of these difficulties will have any application to any Indians likely to apply for admission to the Australian Commonwealth. When the promised abolition of the indenture system takes effect, there will be little inducement, and no facilities, for importing entirely ignorant, unskilled, and penniless labourers; nor would even Mr. Panikkar object to their exclusion on the same grounds as already apply to immigrants from Europe. The most likely immigrants under the new conditions will be skilled artisans or agriculturalists who can see their way to earning from the first a decent living (according to Indian standards as modified by Australian conditions) in some specific vocation, and ultimately to acquire the ownership of land. We can see no reason (except one to be mentioned presently) why Indians of this type should not become as good Australians as any docker from Liverpool.

We have been led on to discuss this important question at a length somewhat disproportionate to the space it occupies in the book under review, which is mainly concerned with the treatment of Indians in those British dependencies which do admit them. In this latter sphere we are unable to accord quite the same whole-hearted sympathy to the writer.

He may be justified in denouncing the miserably low wages paid to those engaged under the indenture system, wages which not only compare very unfavourably, as was to be expected, with those paid to Europeans for similar work,\* but compare unfavourably even with the wages paid to Indians in the Dutch colony of Surinam. But when he comes to deal with the majority, who have passed out of the indenture stage, and are tending, according to him, to form a substantial middle class, he makes claims on their behalf which are somewhat startling. Not satisfied with full equality before the law—that is, the law as he finds it, and as made by Europeans—he demands for the Indian, or rather for the Hindu, immigrant (for in Indians who are not Hindus he shows not the smallest interest) that he shall be allowed to carry his own law with him, and that it shall be recognized and enforced by the Courts of the country of his adoption. At least, this is what seems to be necessarily implied, though his language is throughout confused as between toleration and enforcement. Thus, after misrepresenting the attitude of the French Government towards Muhammadan institutions in Algeria, and praising them for more completely preserving native laws and native administration thereof in Tunis and Indo-China, he goes on to say that “the English Government in India, too, has to a less extent left the Hindu institutions alone.” The fact, of course, is that the British Government has not in any instance “left the Hindu institutions alone.” In certain departments, such as marriage and succession, the Hindu law, as interpreted by the Civil Courts, is as strictly enforced between Hindus as any other laws. In the remaining and much more extensive departments, the Hindu law was abolished many centuries ago by the Muhammadans, and the Muhammadan law has been in turn superseded by British-made law. Does Mr. Panikkar expect the criminal law and rules of evidence laid down in the

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\* He makes out the proportion to be something like 1 to 10.

Shastras to be revived and put in force by the Courts of Trinidad and British Guiana? It is impossible to say. The only point upon which he is quite definite is that children born of marriages solemnized according to Hindu law, and therefore potentially polygamous, ought to be recognized as legitimate.

The theory on which this demand is based is remarkable. It is that "ethical likemindedness"—a phrase borrowed from Professor Giddings—is irrelevant to political union. "The basis for nationality is neither racial homogeneity nor ethical likemindedness. It lies in political institutions." What sort of a business does Mr. Panikkar imagine politics to be, if they are not a branch of applied ethics; if they are not an endeavour to place an adequate amount of might at the service of right, both as between fellow-citizens and as between independent nations? What is the meaning of the present world-wide combination against the Central Empires, if not that Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, Russians, and Japanese are "ethically likeminded" to the extent of resenting unprovoked attack on two small States, and refusal to submit the matters in dispute to arbitration?

But, further, Mr. Panikkar expects the colonial Governments to provide Indian children with instruction in their own vernaculars, English to come afterwards, if at all. And he wants Indian adults to be subjected to a measure of paternal control in the matter of alcoholic drinks, from which their European neighbours are exempt.

We must confess that these extravagances, if we could suppose them to represent any large body of Indian opinion, would go far to take the edge off our indignation at the exclusionist policy of Australia and Canada; and they would also give us pause in our pleadings for extension of self-government in India itself. If this is a fair sample of the tone of the new Benares College, the promoters of that institution have much to answer for.

But we shall decline to believe anything of the sort, without further evidence than is yet forthcoming. All the men who have really helped to lift the Indian name out of the discredit into which it had fallen during the decadence of the Mogul Empire and the early days of British rule, from Rammohun Roy in the early nineteenth to Rabindranath Tagore in the twentieth century; who have created Bengali as a literary language, and at the same time written standard works in English; who have filled with dignity and efficiency all except the very highest posts in the public service, won the suffrages of British constituencies, and the highest academic honours in English Universities, or voiced the aspirations of their countrymen in the National Congress; these men were, and are, eager recipients of wisdom wherever it is to be found, East or West, old or new. They know that there is not one ethical system, or one kind of scientific truth, that holds good East, and another West, of Suez, but one straight path on the finding and following of which the welfare of nations depends. It is by men of this type, not by sectarians and reactionaries, who boast of one "static," unchangeable, specifically Hindu civilization, that the masses must be content to be led, if India is ever to become a self-governing unit.

## RECENT BOOKS ON JAPAN

(Reviewed by H. L. JOLY)

When, on December 13, His Excellency the Japanese Ambassador, Viscount Chinda, was prevented by the onerous duties of his post from taking the chair at a meeting of the Japan Society, he delegated to Mr. Sawada the task of reading to the meeting a message of appreciation and encouragement, in which he pointed out how much more should be known in this country respecting the ancient Empire of Japan.

"When we come to think of it," said he, "we shall really be surprised to realize how very little is known here, after all, concerning Japan. I venture to submit that you do not know one-tenth as much about us as we know about you—let it be said, without reproach, it is only too natural that such should be the case. We have so much to learn and so little to teach; with you, to study our language, for instance, is merely a matter of choice and convenience, with us the acquisition of the English tongue is an important matter of interest, if not of absolute necessity."

Truly the Japanese Government has spent immense sums in publishing books which are of unequalled excellence, dealing with the history, the arts, the education, the finances, the resources of the country, in English and in French, but the man in the street does not know of their existence; his idea of things Japanese, if he has any idea at all, is taken from the columns of cheap newspapers, which steadily refuse to spell *harakiri*, their favourite expression, otherwise than *harikari*, and from books of the type hastily scrawled by globe-trotters with the help of a second-hand guide, paste, scissors, and picture-postcards. Whereas Paris and Berlin have had for years efficiently staffed schools of Oriental languages, London had to wait until the year 1917 to see such a school materialize, and even then it is a school insufficiently endowed, waiting for private support, when the State should bear the whole burden of its maintenance.

The Japanese who come to London are busy men; they are anxious to absorb as much of Western information as they can in a limited time, and they are not wont to advertise. They are reticent men as a rule, but little willing to discuss their country's history or affairs until they feel sure that they will not be pestered by asinine questions showing a total lack of previous interest or study on the part of the inquirer. It is only of recent years that a more constant flow of Japanese thought, expressed freely and clearly in English, has reached us in the *Japan Magazine*, the child, now seven years old, of His Excellency Seishin Hirayama, and a publication deserving of a far greater support than it gets in this country. Thus, when all is said, the average educated Englishman has only himself to blame if he does not know more about Japan from official publications dealing with the subjects on which he is specially interested, and if he finds the Japanese residents little inclined to help him it is because he has overlooked the first steps in acquiring some knowledge, however elementary. Japanese children and students know something of European history, of European literature; they learn

geography and European economics; but how many University graduates in this country have heard of Chikamatsu, and know whether Mino is a town, a straw coat, or a seed, or whether the price of antimony was affected by the Russo-Japanese War? There is a reply to these strictures: of the mass of books and articles written about Japan, barely one-tenth has any permanent value. Some writers get hold of a few facts, and serve them, often woefully distorted, in and out of season, for the "education" of some and the exasperation of others.

During 1916 a few books have reached us which purport to increase or to improve our knowledge of Japan. The most valuable are the less bulky; they are the official reports on the Reforms in Chosen, to which allusion has already been made in these pages, and the Reports on Finance and Education. We cannot here enter into a detailed survey of the last two, but we may commend to our readers the masterly *précis* of Korean education published by the Société Franco-Japonaise, in whose Bulletin appears yearly a summary of the financial report. The Japanese supplements of *The Times*, which were ably edited by the late Robert P. Porter, must also be mentioned. Mr. Porter was a friend of Japan, and he gave to the Japan Society a paper describing the remarkable changes which he noted in his visits to that country, spaced over twenty years; a paper followed a few weeks later by a popular survey of Japan's commercial resources, from the pen of the courteous and obliging Acting-Consul-General, Mr. K. Yamazaki.

Five books will for the present retain our attention: "Ghenko," the story of the attempted invasion of Japan, by Mr. Nakaba Yamada, B.A.\*; "A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867-1912," by W. W. McLaren, Ph.D.†; "The National Spirit of Japan," by S. Honaga‡; "NOH, or Accomplishment," by Fenollosa and Pound§; and "The Geisha of Japan," by T. Fujimoto.¶

With such a range of subjects one would hope to find much that is of interest, something new, and, in two of the volumes at any rate, a guide to the better knowledge or understanding of Japan to which Viscount Chinda looks forward.

Mr. S. Honaga is a professor in the Tokyo Oriental College (Tōyō Daigaku), and his little book of a hundred odd pages is described as "a contribution to spiritual understanding between nations." It appears to consist chiefly of reprints of articles published in journals connected with Christian propaganda, and one is surprised to read that they have been revised when, on perusing the first three pages, the word "misunderstanding" catches the eye not less than *twenty* times, emphasized by a *German* quotation! In fact, scraps of German are thickly sprinkled in this pamphlet; the author, in his attempt at removing "misunderstandings," will get himself "misunderstood" if he cannot gauge the temper of decent people better. We are not interested in what "*Missions-inspektor Lic. Theol. J. Witte*" has to say about missionaries in "*Ostasien*"

\* Smith, Elder.

† Arrowsmith, Bristol.

¶ Werner Laurie.

‡ Allen and Unwin.

§ Macmillan.

*und Europa*," and we scarcely need sixteen lines of German song, however cheerful its nature, to prove that the Japanese loves "innocent and refreshing spontaneity of beauty." The greater part of a chapter is taken up by a disquisition upon the causes of the origins of the present war, and to explain why Japan acted in the spirit of her treaty of alliance with England; thereupon the writer quotes Bismarck, later Schiller, Goethe, and a few minor German writers. We confess that we cannot follow Mr. Honaga; his book is *profond dans le sens de creux*. He juggles with "intellectual understanding and spiritual understanding," and tells us that men are prevented from knowing Japan "indirectly by the world's misunderstanding up to the present time, and directly by the world's misunderstanding regarding the German-Japanese War," but fails to make his point clear; he shrewdly castigates curio-collectors, and asks us to study Japan, but soon drops again into obscure digressions. One would like to know what he means when he suggests that the foreigner should investigate the history of Japanese sciences, amongst them *phytology*. The writer is acquainted with many scientific books of old Japan, but "phytology" makes him "wet his eyebrows with saliva." Much is made of the "Bushido," a word which we fear was not in common use until Nitobe gave it world-wide currency, since when it has been one of the pegs on to which to hang much superficial, sentimental scribbling. Although the present writer has a note of a *pre-Meiji* book bearing that word as its title, he inclines to think that the title was inaccurately quoted, and much research by better scholars than himself has failed to trace the word in ancient books. Would it not be better to settle up the point and to make it clear that the so-called "Bushido" is merely the ethical code of living evolved from the principles of the Confucian philosophers and of the Zen teachers, not necessarily limited to the Bushi, except inasmuch as the educational system of the country before 1868 made the study of ethics almost impossible for the children of other classes than the privileged military caste.

There are valuable points in Mr. Honaga's book, but these do not shine on every page.

"Ghenko" is a very different book. Those who have read in Murdoch's monumental work the short report of the attempts made by the Mongols to bend Japan beneath their yoke will gladly avail themselves of this more extensive story, and they will be thankful to the author that he refrained from turning his work into an historical novel. Nevertheless, it is not a dry book, far from it, but a very readable production, illustrated with some maps and a number of pictures by a modern Japanese artist, whose name, we regret to find, is not mentioned in the book. Mr. Yamada's style is clear and picturesque, his information well marshalled, and he has thoughtfully given the possible inquirer a list of eighteen Japanese works for further reference. We regret, nevertheless, to see such names as "Kitabatake Chikafusa," "Tokugawa Mitsukuni," turned round in "high karar" fashion. A few misprints have also crept in: "Heishi," "Ghenji," "Shoum" for "Shōma," "Sugawarea Naganari."

From the days of Kublai Khan's thwarted invasion of Japan to 1868



is a far cry; internal wars followed by nearly three centuries of peace and of almost complete seclusion fill the gap. Mr. Yamada tells us how the freebooters from Southern Japan scoured the China seas, raided the Malay Peninsula and the northern coast of Java, the western fringes of Borneo and of the Philippines, before the days of Tokugawa Iyeyasu; then he turns to compare Kublai with Hojo Tokimune, the Mongol fleet with the Armada, etc., with much acumen and shrewd judgment. His work is a fair illustration of the painstaking methods of the modern Japanese student, not evolved, as some would, and have, suggested, from the contact of the German professors, for in the days when Arai Hakuseki wrote—nay, in the days when the *Kokinshū* was compiled—when the Germans were a nation of lansquenets ready to sell or hire themselves into any army for the sake of lust, pillage, and the congenial bestiality of the soldier's life in the Middle Ages—at that time, Japanese writers had adopted the ways of the Chinese *literati*; they dipped deep into the works of the past, and loved to quote and to compile. Much of that compiling habit remains; it can be traced in many modern books. In Mr. Yamada's work, however, there has been a thorough process of digestion, and the result can be commended as a pleasant book and a further proof of the ability of our Japanese friends to express themselves in an acquired language.

Dr. McLaren's work is a history of internal politics, with only three chapters on foreign policy. We doubt whether many people in Europe have taken the trouble to follow the maze of political changes, the chequered careers of Ministers and parliamentarians in Japan since a parliamentary régime was granted to the nation. Few are at home even with the names of the statesmen of various magnitudes who have struggled in the political arena, if one excepts men like the late Lord Redesdale, Professor Longford, Professor Gubbins, Mr. J. Carey Hall, and a handful of others who have met them in the flesh and read their speeches in the vernacular. At various times interest in Japan was aroused by her wars with China, with Russia, her annexation of Korea, by the antagonism of half-educated Western Americans, some of whom are probably hyphenated, objecting to meet their betters, and lately some folks wondered at her Government fulfilling the spirit as well as the letter of her engagements. Now and again the safety of Cochin China was thought to be in peril, and recently the Dutch have shown concern at the utterances of some hot-headed politicians who from Tokyo preached a gospel of immediate expansion at the expense of the Dutch Colonies in Java. A recent article on that subject advocating the Japanese annexation of the Dutch Asiatic Colonies, which appears in the *Japan Magazine*, seems to us a mistaken piece of jingoism; in the sixteenth century pirates from Japan went to Java and met with a fairly hot reception. There was no international law in the East in those days, but there is now, and we cannot believe that any responsible statesman will endorse the policy advocated by those disciples of Yoshida Shoin, who would see Japan master of Eastern Asia from the Yunnan ranges to the Arctic Sea, from Java to the middle of the Pacific, or by those who, postu-

lating that nature, when giving the black, the yellow, and the white races divers temperaments as well as pigmentation, intended that they should remain within climates and zones for which they are specially fitted, and would in consequence turn the white man out of Eastern Asia. These men need no advertisement here, hence their names may be ignored. They would make of Japan an Asiatic Prussia, and Japan, if we understand her aright, is not likely to do so, whatever the prominence of militarism and of bureaucracy in her midst. The recent utterances of Mr. Motono, and the opposition which General Terauchi has met with, are an earnest of reasonable behaviour. Japan's policy in the East, as affirmed in recent times, is that of the open door, but with herself as the most favoured nation, and it is reasonable enough that a country whose whole history and civilization, whose culture, are linked with China should have a greater share in shaping the modern policy of her ancient neighbour than European nations or the U.S.A.

The foreign policy of Japan has, however, been, from 1852 up to now, the foremost cause of almost all the changes in Ministers and in internal politics. Hence the study of Dr. McLaren's book will help the reader to follow both. The author, born in Canada in 1877, went to Japan in 1908, and was for some years lecturer on politics in the Keiogijiku University at Mita, Tokyo, the liberal and far-sighted institution originated by Fukuzawa Yukichi, whose graduates and native professors enjoy a high reputation for learning and good sense. One of them, Professor Tanaka Suiichiro, is a well-known writer on politics, who has made a thorough study of European conditions, and it is well known that the *Jiji Shimpo* reflects the thoughts of writers trained at the Keiogijiku. Dr. McLaren, then, had good opportunities to study Japanese polity, and he improved the occasion by editing for the Asiatic Society of Japan a bulky compilation of Japanese official documents from 1867 to 1889, to which the present volume forms a welcome guide and commentary. The general tone of the book is, however, in many places that of an indictment of Japanese statesmen rather than a recital of their doings or a discussion of their aims. In the preface, Dr. McLaren—who by the way is a Harvard graduate, and dates his preface from Williamstown, Mass.—states that the faults of the Japanese create alarm and distrust in their neighbours, and one wonders at times in reading his pages whether he has not set himself the task to prove that statement rather than to survey impartially the facts as he knows them. For instance, he says that the late Captain Brinkley became a supporter of the Japanese administration after his paper, the *Japan Weekly Mail*, was subsidized by the Japanese Government. Everyone knows that Brinkley's paper was supported, but it would not have been if Brinkley had not been a convinced Japanophil, and the *Japan Mail* has much declined in interest since his death. The author's disparaging remarks on pages 367-369 afford a characteristic example of unfortunate criticism, whilst his references to Prince Ito, and the suggestion that his murder was a political execution condoned and facilitated by the Government, leaves a nasty impression. From the same source of tittle-tattle must have been taken the accusation

of forgery found on page 312. Dr. McLaren has accumulated as many rumours as historical facts, presumably for American consumption. He makes a strong point of the ready sale of votes at parliamentary elections, a thing not unheard of in his country of residence, where the Japanese studied parliamentary institutions before adopting them; and much as we disapprove of corruption we cannot expect voters, many of them ill-educated, reaching a state of political responsibility and imperviousness to bribery where voting is an institution of comparatively recent date.

This gives an inkling of the tendency of the whole book without comparing page after page with the files of newspapers, and—it is probably with the everlasting grumbling of the outspoken *Kobe Chronicle* that they would be found in closest agreement—one cannot discuss every statement made by the author. He follows a chronological method, and adduces more detail than is found in any of his predecessors, but he seems to make it a point to bring forward such a mass of material which, so say the least, is derogatory to Japan that this propensity discounts somewhat the undoubted value of the historical material—in fact, almost as much as the shortcomings of the index. Nevertheless, those who are really interested in Japanese politics will keep his book on their shelves, next to Brinkley's and to Longford's masterly contribution to the "Cambridge History," next to "Fifty Years of New Japan"; for books luckily cannot fight, and comparison of facts and interpretations help one to form a clearer opinion when away from the events. If the end of the book is to be taken as the author's deliberate and considered opinion, our suggestion that he started with a settled case to make by hook or by crook will be proved: "Japan's predominance in Eastern Asia has become the foundation of the national policy. 'Nibbling at China' is no longer the propaganda of the military party alone; that policy has come to be universally accepted as leading directly to the realization of the nation's destiny. Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and finally the Middle Kingdom itself—that is the order of conquest in the minds of the Japanese, not only amongst the dreamers or the professional militarists, but among the rank and file of the people also. . . . The policy is popular in the country, and opposition from without alone will stop the process. In the event of China's inability to defend herself, what Western Power will intervene to save her?" Thus ends the book, *in cauda venenum*.\* Dr. McLaren wants to save China from her friends; the Western Power which he has in his mind is doubtless "America"—i.e., U.S.A.

Happily, not all Americans are Japanophobes, far from it, and amongst their leaders in the States are a fair number of level-headed men who for some years have tried to educate their fellow-citizens, to give them a truer insight into Japan's history and aims. Fenollosa was one of them, Professor Morse, Lindsay Russell, and the Japan Society of New York, with men of standing like W. E. Griffis, N. M. Butler, Judge Gary, Elliot,

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\* The more recent utterances of the Japanese Cabinet, however, have shown a more friendly tone than in the days of Count Okuma, and the feeling that Japan means to help China, not to hinder her, is well brought out in a paper read by Dr. Yokoi Tokio before the Japan Society in May, 1917.

T. Roosevelt, H. Mansfield, Stan Jordan, Ide Wheeler, Elihu Root, W. J. Bryan, Charles Coffin, etc., as collaborators, have arranged tours and lectures, published leaflets, all of which tend to increase friendly feeling where the ground is not hopelessly intractable. Dr. McLaren says that the opposition of the Californian States to Japanese emigration will not be settled for years; he may know, and we fear he has done nothing to improve matters; we believe it all nonsense to say that the Californian attitude is due to "a feeling of distrust and fear of Japanese designs," even if only "in part"; the key to the situation is better stated in the sentence, "The United States regard the paramountcy of Japan in the Far East with some anxiety"; yet the United States occupied the Philippines, 6,000 miles' sail from California, and for what reason? Was it to have a pretext to interfere in the Far East? What would have happened if Japan and China had then viewed that move "with much anxiety"? Dr. McLaren should read pages 282-293 of "*America to Japan*" (Putnam, 1915).

One of the last books we have to deal with now bears the title, "NOH, or Accomplishment," a study of the classical stage of Japan, by Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound. It bears on its cover the character Yō (Hikari), shining, glorious, bright, illuminating, and we wish the decoration had been appropriate. The work consists of essays, translations, and extracts from the private diary of the late Ernest Fenollosa, some of which have been published before in various periodicals, edited by Ezra Pound, and it is at times difficult to distinguish what is Fenollosa's and what is Pound's. The former spent many years in Japan, did much to make that country's art and spirit known to the Western world, especially in America. His collections have found resting-places in the States, and the manuscript of a large work on Japanese and Chinese art, poorly edited, after his death, was published some five years ago, the first edition being so unsatisfactory as to require revision, partly at the hands of Shinkichi Hara in Hamburg, who prepared the German edition. Fenollosa had at a time studied the "Nō Gaku," or "Nō," drama, as we shall henceforth call it, from a professional Nō actor, and he had attained some proficiency in the art. It is a pity that the whole of his notes was not published, as it stands, rather than mere portions of it, indifferently "edited" by Mr. Pound, whose ignorance of the subject is freely confessed in the prefatory note; and we would suggest that if he intends to publish the original notes, as he seems to indicate—notes which he says would be of use to scholars only—he should leave them as Fenollosa wrote them, unless they be too chaotic and fragmentary, in which case he might perhaps enlist the help of someone more conversant with the subject. Those parts which in the present book are unmistakably Fenollosa's are clear enough for us, but they are marred here and there by interpolations and queries which one cannot help ascribing to one unacquainted with Japanese affairs—e.g., the query on page 87, "like Sumo" (whatever that may mean), can only be ascribed to one who has no notion of Japanese wrestling—Sumo, and has not seen any pictures of the Sumo and the Nō stages.

The title of the book is unfortunate; everybody writes "Nō," not "NOH," and in some pages the original "Nō" appears cheek by jowl with "NOH"—e.g., page 13, and more ludicrously still on page 15, par. 2. In fact, the spelling here and there shows queer peculiarities; to add *s* to Japanese plural cases is a common fad, but to write "Bunka," "Kanze," "Rokoro," "Fugiwara Shunmei," "Koyosan," "Miwotsukushi," "Hikamkimi," "Kōntan," "Bishop Homeri Shonini" (for "Honen Shonin"), "Kosekko" for "Kosekiko," "tansos" (*tansu*), "nagmochi" (*nagamochi*), which are not all misprints, betokens the need of a further help than that acknowledged in the preface. Again, why do we have the German vocalization "Sch'tay" on page 25 for the word "Shite"? Mr. Pound says that he is in a position, after reading all Fenollosa's notes, to say definitely that Fenollosa knew more of the subject than anyone who has yet written in English; a very sweeping statement on the part of a writer whose personal acquaintance with Japanese literature appears to be scanty. Mr. Pound has doubtless read what Osman Edwards and later Dr. Marie Stopes have written for popular consumption, or what appears in Aston and Brinkley's books, or in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," but has he read the exhaustive work of Noel Peri—in French? We doubt it, for if he had he must have felt it desirable to give more of Fenollosa's notes, and thereby to prove his statement. Had he understood the rôle of the Shite he would not have printed the query (of the stage? of the play?) on page 56. Had he used a Japanese dictionary, he would not have described "Sotoba" as a shrine; it is a grave-post, and "Sotoba Komachi" means Komachi on the grave-post; nor made of "Kasa" a coat when it is a hat. And whilst referring to this particular Nō, let us take page 21. We have before us the Japanese text; the whole of Scene II., nearly thirty lines, is here translated by Fenollosa-Pound in six short blank verses! Scene III. begins: "No! No! Here behold a beggar! Ara! What appalling decay! But what, is she not seated on a grave-post? I will instruct her to depart!¶ Here you beggar, art thou not seated upon a *sotoba*, the very body of the Buddha to whom all respect is due? Hurry, depart from this place and rest elsewhere!"

But Fenollosa has used another text which begins: "No! let us hurry, for the sun is waning; let us wend our way! Ya! it is truly upon a *sotoba* that this beggar is seated"; then continues from ¶ onwards as above. But where is all this on page 21? There is a reference to paint in the English verse, but in Ono's reply there is no word about paint: "*Kore hodo moji mo miezu, Kizameru katachi mo nashi*" (Upon this there is no letter to be seen, nor trace of a carved image), etc.

In "Kayoi Komachi," page 28, "*tachibana*" is the Japanese for orange; the word does not recur in the text.

Enough has been said to show that the translations do not hug the text. If they give an idea of their meaning they are indeed adaptations, and as such may commend themselves to the general reader, not to the earnest student, who has no patience with poetical licences such as transferring or doubling a line in somebody else's translation. Being a

poet, Mr. Pound, like Dr. Marie Stopes, has sought to write English verse without respect for the originals. Mr. Pound says that no Japanese could explain him "Aoi no Uye" nor "Kakitsubata." The first play is dealt with in three pages of *Nogaku daijiten*, which devotes about the same space to the second play; see also "*Utai Kimmo Zûé*, 1717 (*Yokioku Gwaishi*)," x. 2, and if he needs the actual texts, the "*Yôkyoku Tsukai*" (or the "*Yokyoku Koshaku*") will supply them. Thus far we have not discussed the "facts" in the book nor the opinions of the late author; it is useless to criticize or discuss the opinions of a man whose death all deplored, and who, had he been alive, would surely have corrected many details in the present book—e.g., the medley of dates on page 252, the use of "Isshin" as a man's name instead of "go-issin" (restoration), p. 256; that of "Akechi" as a battle instead of a man's name on page 8; of *Light goddess* for Sun goddess—literally "Heaven-shining Divinity," etc.—or enlarged sections which are here merely jotted down. The number of masks is not 300. Some books give only sixty, and the various series in our possession (including the lordly *No Gaku Mandai Kan*) do not exceed one hundred types; on that subject there is information to be had in English too.

To conclude, the book is of interest, it is a readable work prepared under difficulties, but we wish it had been all Fenollosa, however fragmentary.

Mr. Fujimoto's book is a companion volume to the "Nightside of Japan," reviewed in our columns last year. It contains much that will doubtless be new to the average European reader, and it is evident that the author has studied the older literature bearing upon his subject. The Geisha is not, as some globe-trotters have now and then lightly asserted, a young woman of easy virtue; she is a professional entertainer who waits on guests with music, song, and dance, as well as with the wine of the country. Her education is specialized as well as exacting; her calling goes back to a date far away in the Kamakura period, in the twelfth century, perhaps even further back, although the Geisha properly so-called came into existence as a regular professional entertainer *circa* 1762. Whereas the earlier dancing-girls, Shirabyoshi, performed only in Courts and palaces, their later representatives found their occupation chiefly in the tea-houses and restaurants connected with the prostitute quarters usually called "Yoshiwara" in Europe, from the name of one of them. Some alterations took place about the time of the imperial restoration in 1868.

The author is partial to a quaint English, which has now and again distressing drawbacks. Page 40 offers s.v. mirror, a startling example of it; he has given a number of autobiographical sketches of considerable interest, presumably written by Geisha. In some cases one would have been gratified to find references to his sources of information, manuscript or printed. He gives a few pages on the double suicide craze which has been an unfortunate phenomenon peculiar to Japan, and he deals at some length with the Geisha in various towns. This book will prove most acceptable, particularly to those who have studied the work of

De Becker on the other phase of woman life in Japan with which the Geisha is so often associated.

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Since the above lines were written in January, 1917, Dr. Y. Haga, professor of Japanese literature in Tokyo University, has read before the Japan Society a paper on "The Spirit of Japan as shown in the Literature of the Country," in which he takes much the same point of view as the present writer anent the nature of Bushido. Loyalty has been the keynote of all Japanese traditions—loyalty to the Emperor, then to his representatives, but above all to the throne, witness the absence of criticism of the Tenshi when all others—Ministers, priests, Shōgun, and the gods themselves—were criticized in literature.

There have been, further, two notable papers read before the same Society, one by Dr. Yokoi, late President of the Dōshisha University, dealing with the similarities and dissimilarities of Japan and China, the other by Mr. J. Carey Hall, C.M.G., being two books of the *Shoku Nihongi* (supplement of the Japanese Chronicle, *Nihongi*, translated by the late Dr. W. G. Aston). The Japan Society, in the limited scope afforded by seven or eight monthly meetings, attempts year after year to increase that knowledge of Japan which Viscount Chinda finds insufficiently conspicuous here, and in that attempt much of the success has been due of recent years to the enthusiastic help of the Japanese Hon. Secretary, Mr. S. Sawada.

## FAR EAST

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN CHINA. By W. J. Clennell, H.M. Consular Service. (*T. Fisher Unwin.*)

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

There has been a decided boom in works on Chinese religion within the past few years, and even the Chinese themselves have been given furiously to think since the revolution of 1911-12 whether it would pay them best to stick to Confucius or to put on some modified form of Christianity, in order to keep in moral countenance the billycocks and slop suits with which they have somewhat hastily adorned their physical bodies. Perhaps they could the more easily arrive at what the precious Wilhelm calls a "decision" if the rival Christian sects at work in China could recognize each other as brethren, and if "nationality" questions in Europe had not so affected the Christian mind there as to bring Lutherans and the Caliph into unholy alliance against the Greek Church, the Church of England, the Methodists of America, and even to a certain extent the Pope of Rome: the last manifestly does not *like* Dr. Fell, though his secular commitments with Bavaria, His Most Apostolic Majesty, and His Most Catholic Majesty, not to mention the Saxon ruling house, compel him to *ménager* his indignation as an Italian gentleman and a man, and to refrain from setting forth the reason why he cannot *tell* us all so paternally and officially. In a word, Christianity cannot at present puff itself up to the Chinese elective mind.

Mr. Clennell's book was written before the war broke out, and most

people will find it interesting and agreeable reading. If it be any satisfaction to the author to know it, the present writer is prepared to express himself, so far as his knowledge goes, in general accord with the first two chapters on "General Characteristics" and "Ancient Confucianism." The author, however (p. 17), seems to confuse Felix, who only "trembled" at Paul's close argumentation, with King Herod Agrippa II., who was, being like Paul, a Jew, the real individual "almost persuaded to become a Christian." At that time the Romans, whose *religio* was simply a sort of tit-for-tat "understanding" with the gods of nature (not unlike the vulgar form of Chinese nature-worship before the comparatively noble conception of *tao*, or Universism was thought out), had not yet conceived the idea of an objective sectarianism or "Church" which they could take on or throw off at will; and Cæsar himself frequently writes of the *religiones*, or superstitions, of the Druids, as being, like the Roman, a mere phase of the general national ethics, in all three cases "good form" being not a question of choice, but an inseparable part of general State policy.

The third chapter on "Taoism" is not quite so happily visualized or expressed. The debased Taoism which adopted alchemy and other hocus-pocus in and subsequent to 150 B.C., became a rival of, and in some respects an imitator of, Buddhism 200 years later, and it has ever since been a degraded though harmless popular mummerly under the mountain "Popes" of Kiang Si province, having assimilated many of the old *religiones*. It has really nothing whatever to do with the noble if vague philosophy of *tao* or "the road (of nature)" as first handed down by official or "priestly" tradition, then *utilized* by that practical statesman Kwan-tsz in the seventh century B.C., and finally developed by Lao-tsz (democratically) and Confucius (ceremonially and conservatively) in the sixth century B.C.

The fourth chapter treats of the general effect of Buddhism, which had doubtless worked some subtle effect by word of mouth upon the Persians, Jews, and Chinese (through the restless Tartar horsemen incessantly galloping to and fro between the Volga and Corea) long before the Chinese Court first officially heard of it and "summoned" it to China in the first century A.D.—*not* from India, but from Afghanistan. In the remaining chapters, V. to XI., Mr. Clennell "lets himself go" a little upon general political subjects—so far as a consular officer may safely indulge himself in this direction without running foul of the beaks. The nominal sequence of chapters runs as follows: The Mingling and Decay of Faith; The Confucian Renaissance; The Stagnation and Failure of Confucian Society—The Mongol Conquest—Contact of East and West; Nationalist Reaction—Lamaism; China and the Church of Rome; The Nineteenth Century—The Contact of China and Modern Ideals; The Modern Transformation. All these are eminently readable to the great unwashed, who have only a "general" or scratch knowledge of the Chinese mind and its development; moreover, they reveal Mr. Clennell (whom the writer has never had the honour of meeting) as a "straight" and sympathetic individual, anxious to be fair and to do justice all



round—as, indeed, most British consular officials usually are, or try to be. Of recent books on Chinese religion, the most intelligible is perhaps that of the Rev. Mr. Soothill. Mr. De Groot (this is speaking only of his concentrated lecture volume; his *magnum opus* has not yet fallen into the writer's clutches) is rather "too Dutch" and too hazy. Anyway, Mr. Clennell, Mr. Soothill, and Dr. De Groot all harp upon the same string, and the writer himself proposes very soon to resume his rôle as a minor Coryphæus.

E. H. PARKER.

### RECENT BOOKS ON RUSSIA.

RUSSIAN COURT MEMOIRS, 1914-1916. By "A Russian." (*Jenkins.*) Price 12s. 6d. net. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By Mr. Stinton Jones. (*Jenkins.*) Price 5s. net. RUSSIA AS I SAW IT. By Harry de Windt. (*Chapman and Hall.*) Price 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Herbert Jenkins is to be congratulated on his recent choice of books on Russia. He has followed up Madame Olga Novikoff's epoch-making work, "Russian Memories," by two volumes that are as authoritative as they are timely. The first "Russian Court Memoirs" is a valuable exposé of the dark forces that unfortunately surrounded the Russian throne and contributed so much to its downfall. Soukholminoff, Count Fredericks, Stürmer, and many others, are herein described, and the whole gives a vivid picture of a Russia which has gone for all time. There is also an important contribution to the problem of the Baltic Provinces. It is well to remember, however, that the true centre of Russia is not Petrograd but Moscow. The appearance of this volume on the market at the outbreak of the Revolution constitutes a veritable "coup."

The same may be said of Mr. Stinton Jones on the "Russian Revolution," in which the author vividly describes his experiences during those epoch-making days. In a few well-chosen chapters, furnished with photographs, he describes the conditions under the old régime, the outburst of the storm, and the hopes for the future.

The famous traveller, Mr. Harry de Windt, has done much in the past to enlighten this country about Russia, and has thereby contributed to the present Anglo-Russian friendship. In the present volume he has much that is interesting to tell about the Russian Army, Moscow, Petrograd, Finland, German intrigues, etc. In reading this book we feel that we have before us the reflections of one who knows and who loves Russia. A greater knowledge of Russia and her peoples is the best means of insuring that bond of sympathy which we all hope to see perpetuated.

I. M.

### RUSSIAN GRAMMAR

ELEMENTARY RUSSIAN READER. Edited, with accents, etc., by Michael V. Trofimov, Lecturer in Russian, King's College. (*Constable's Russian Readers.*) 2s.

In the preface to this original little work, Mr. Trofimov says that his aim is to deliver the student from "the tyranny of conventional lifeless

phrases which constitute the worst feature of simplified popular grammars." At the beginning, however, a certain amount of dreary grinding is unavoidable, and conventional rather than idiomatic sentences form the earliest material for study. We are of opinion, after some lengthy experience, that the alert, well-equipped King's College Lecturer has provided a reader which will draw students on through the attractive and varied selection. Besides proverbs, of which one is "Where one old woman is, there is a market, where there are two a bazaar," he furnishes some of the popular riddles which in many cases are centuries old—e.g., "It is born in water and fears water: salt;" "Handless and footless, but crawls on the mountain: the wind." For poetical and prose extracts Mr. Trofimov has drawn upon L. N. Tolstoy, Tshekhov, S. T. Aksakov, Prof. Klutshesky, Korolenko, Pushkin, Nekrassov, Maikov, and others. The ample vocabulary furnishes explanations of other verbal forms besides the infinitive, which will often help the student who cannot arrive at the meaning of an irregular form which he is still unable to relate with the infinitive stem. This little work deserves all success.

F. P. M.

#### ORIENTALIA

A HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL JEWISH PHILOSOPHY. By Isaac Husik. (New York: *The Macmillan Company*.) 1916. 12s. 6d.

The history of the influence of Greek philosophic thought through successive ages must always be of interest to the student of philosophy. So far as the Christian world is concerned, this influence has been traced out in innumerable separate studies and general histories by competent scholars; in the field of Muhammadan philosophy, though the workers have been fewer in number, the investigations pursued by Renan, Dieterici, Carra de Vaux, De Boer, Worms, and Horten have borne fruitful results. But, strangely enough, this aspect of Jewish philosophy has been singularly neglected, and Professor Husik's book is the first comprehensive work that has appeared on the subject, and merits approbation not only for this reason, but as a fine piece of scholarship, combining at once profound erudition and lucidity of exposition. His historical survey begins with Isaac Israeli, who was Court physician to the Fatimid Caliph, al-Manṣūr (*ob.* 953); he then goes on to trace the rationalistic movement in Jewish philosophy from its beginnings in the ninth and tenth centuries in Mesopotamia with Al-Mukammas and Saadia. By the eleventh century Spain had become the intellectual centre of the Jewish world, and with Solomon ibn Gabirol (*ob.* 1058) begins the long series of Spanish philosophers, leading up to Moses Maimonides (*ob.* 1204) and his commentators in different countries. After Maimonides there are but few outstanding figures in Jewish philosophy, such as Levi ben Gerson (*ob.* 1344), Aaron ben Elijah (*ob.* 1369), and Crescas (*ob.* 1410); and when the dawn of the Renaissance appeared in the fifteenth century, Jewish philosophy failed to shake itself free from the trammels of scholasticism, and the rationalistic movement, that had attempted to reconcile religion and philosophy, came to an end.

The beginnings of this rationalistic school of Jewish thought are closely connected with a similar intellectual movement in the Muslim world—that scholastic philosophy known as Kalam, which the exponents of it, the Mutakallim, worked out in order to provide a rational basis for religious dogma. As against the followers of Greek philosophy, they denied the eternity of matter, and sought to establish a metaphysical doctrine of substance and accident in order to demonstrate the creation of the world, and on this theory of creation they based the existence of God, the reality of miracles, and God's direct concern with the affairs of the world. The philosophical development of Jewish thinkers proceeded on lines corresponding to their successive acquisition of Greek philosophical literature; for their knowledge of this, they were dependent on translations into Arabic, and the first treatise to be so translated was made up of extracts from the "Enneads" of Plotinus, though it became known to the Arabic-reading world by the strangely misleading title of the "Theology of Aristotle." The first influences from Greek philosophy were thus Neo-Platonic, and they made themselves apparent in the writings of the Jewish philosophers—notably Solomon ibn Gabirol—according as they became dissatisfied with the formal methods of the Mutakallim. But just as in the Muhammadan world Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes made the teaching of Aristotle predominant in Arabic philosophy, so through these Jewish writings Aristotelianism became incorporated with Jewish philosophy, first as expounded by Ibn Daud (*ob.* 1180) and in a more impressive manner by his greater contemporary, Moses Maimonides, who gave the death-blow to the influence of Kalam in Jewish literature and made the teaching of Aristotle prevail in Jewish philosophic thought.

These successive stages in the growth of Jewish philosophy are clearly brought out by Professor Husik, though in dealing with his subject-matter he adopts the biographical method, devoting a separate chapter (in most instances) to each philosopher, with an account of his life and times and a detailed exposition of his teachings.

In reviewing a work so comprehensive, it is not possible to draw attention to all the many points of interest that arrest attention, but it will probably be new to most students of philosophy—to those at least who do not happen to have read Maimonides—to learn how profound was the influence upon the earlier Jewish philosophers of the speculations and the dialectic method of the Mu'tazila. This school of Muslim theologians and philosophers has attracted the attention of several eminent scholars who have concerned themselves with Muhammadan literature, but as nearly all the philosophical writings of the Mu'tazila have perished, we have to depend for our knowledge of their opinions upon authors who were hostile to them or quote them only to refute. The sympathetic exposition of their doctrines, therefore, by a Jewish writer is a valuable supplement to the Arabic sources for the teaching of this enlightened and liberal school of Muhammadan thought. The Karaites especially appear to have come under their influence, and as they were the first among the Jews to imitate the Mu'tazila in the endeavour to give a rationalistic

exposition of religious doctrine, they adopted not only their opinions, but also their method, so that, as Professor Husik says, it is sometimes impossible to tell from the contents of a Karaite Mu'tazilite work whether it was written by a Jew or a Muhammadan.

It will thus be seen that this volume is of interest to others beside those immediately interested in Jewish philosophy, and it merits the attention of all serious students of mediæval thought as a work of sound erudition, based on a thorough knowledge of the literature of the subject and a due appreciation of contemporary currents of thought. T. W. A.

JĀTAKA TALES, selected and edited, with Introduction and notes, by  
H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas. (*Cambridge University Press.*)  
1916. 7s. 6d.

The Birth Stories of the Buddha belong to that small group of writings which have a claim to be termed world-literature. Apart from the attractiveness which the central figure of the hero of each one of them, the Bodhisatta (the future Buddha), possesses, there is the universal appeal which stories of animals, discoursing and acting as if they were human beings, have for readers of all times and countries. These stories form part of one of the three great divisions of the Pali Buddhist Scriptures, and generally refer to some incident in the life of the historic Buddha, who, in connection therewith, relates the story of an event that has occurred in one of his previous existences, and explains the present incident as a repetition of the former one or as closely resembling it; he then sets forth the moral lesson to be drawn from it, reproving sin and lauding virtue. The subject-matter of most of the stories is undoubtedly pre-Buddhistic in origin, and many ancient tales have been woven into the "Jātaka Tales" and have received a Buddhist colouring in the process, but form part of the great body of folklore which has wandered East and West, from one end of the world to the other.

It is to the credit of English scholarship that the first complete translation of the "Jātaka Tales" in any European language appeared in English. The project was first suggested in 1888 by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse to the late Professor Cowell, and the task was taken in hand by a group of five Pali scholars, who divided the work between them, and published the whole collection in six successive volumes between 1895 and 1907. It is from this monumental work that the present volume of selections has been compiled, and the editor-in-chief, Mr. H. T. Francis, is one of the original band of translators, and only living survivor of the older group among them.

This publication should serve to make known to a wider public than Pali scholars or students of Buddhism this very attractive collection of early folk-tales. The editors have apparently thought that the contents would primarily be of interest to the folklorist, and have added a number of learned notes pointing out variants of each story in other literatures of the world; but, valuable and interesting as many of these notes are,

the book makes an appeal to a much larger circle of readers, and its moderate price and attractive get-up should recommend it as a suitable gift-book for older children and others.

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LE LIVRE DE LA CRÉATION ET DE L'HISTOIRE DE MUṬAHHAR BEN ṬĀHIR  
EL-MAQDISĪ, publié et traduit par M. Cl. Huart. Tome V. (Paris:  
*Leroux.*) 1916. 20 fr.

Professor Huart is to be congratulated that in these difficult times, so unpropitious for the production of scholarly work, he has been able to bring out another volume of his fine edition of the Arabic text of "Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh" (The Book of the Creation and of History.) This work, of which Chapters XVII. to XX. are published in the present volume, is from the pen of a certain Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, of whom nothing appears to be known except that he lived about the middle of the fourth century of the Muhammadan era and wrote another book (otherwise unknown), to which he occasionally refers, entitled "Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān." But the scope of this work reveals something of the intellectual outlook of the author and the wide range of his interests. Beginning with an exposition of the nature and extent of knowledge, he gives proofs for the existence of God, and explains the Divine names and attributes. Then follows an exposition of God's revelation of Himself to men through the teaching of the prophets and an explanation of the prophetic function. In accordance with the first half of the title of his book, he describes the creation of the world and expounds the Muhammadan cosmology and eschatology. The historical portion of the book comprises the lives of the prophets, in which of course more space is given to Muhammad than to others, brief biographies of his companions, and an account of the various Muhammadan sects, together with a sketch of the history of the Kings of Arabia and Persia up to the rise of Islam. The present volume closes with a survey of the history of the caliphate up to the abdication of Ḥasan the son of 'Alī. In all this there is of course much that is familiar to the student of Islam and Muhammadan history from other sources, and Muṭahhar's book is in large measure a compilation. But incidentally, he throws new light on many points of biography, literary history, and religious thought. His standpoint is on the whole that of Muhammadan orthodoxy, and he defends the accounts of the miracles of the Prophet against the doubts of hostile critics and against those who would offer allegorical explanations of them. But he goes for his information outside the ordinary range of the theologian, and shows that he had studied the doctrines of heretical sects such as the Manichæans and Zoroastrians, the followers of Mazdak and Bābak, and the pagans of Ḥarrān. He is one of the few Arabic authors who give evidence of having studied the Old Testament, and in the present volume he quotes from it in the original Hebrew.

The book is printed in the fine bold Arabic type that makes the publications of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes so attractive to read, and the French translation which accompanies the Arabic text is not only

helpful to the young student, but makes the work accessible to the larger circle of readers interested in Muslim thought and history.

T. W. ARNOLD.

### GENERAL LITERATURE

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. By Edmund Gosse. (*Macmillan and Co.*) Price 10s. 6d.

Many reviewers of Mr. Gosse's life of Swinburne have taken the opportunity of reflecting upon their changed attitude, due to the decay of youthful enthusiasm, towards the Victorian poet of revolt. His poetry is no longer anything to them but an echo of the rapture with which they first greeted "Poems and Ballads" and "Songs before Sunrise." They look back with amused tolerance to themselves amid a throng of Oxford or Cambridge undergraduates chanting the hymn of Dolores, intoxicated by its music. Their affection for Swinburne has no longer any reality in it; they see his lilies and languors, his roses and raptures, as old pantomime properties, faded, tarnished tinsel. But it seems to me that this very attitude implies a debt to Swinburne which we should be proud of owning: there are affections for people, living and dead, which are almost a fear, which remain alive because of that fear, of what we should have done without them. The Victorian age could not have done without Swinburne any more than its forerunner could have done without Shelley; without "Poems and Ballads" the "Idylls of the King" might be reigning supreme upon our drawing-room tables now. Those who look back and laugh apologetically at the past's enthusiasms are too apt to forget what share those enthusiasms have had in making the present, what share, too, such forgetfulness may have in making the future. There is no need to tilt at mid-Victorian proprieties now; they are so far expelled from our modern manners that any lingering remnants of them have an antiquarian charm like the furniture of their period and "Cranford"; but such are the temptations of antiquarianism, and such is mankind's propensity for following fashion's lead in matters of mental as well as of material furniture, that we do well to keep in touch with the poetry of one who knew the agony of horsehair sofas. But this aspect of Swinburne, largely as it was responsible for his reputation, is not the one that we are most concerned with. Swinburne's peculiarity is his intrinsic detachment from the conflicts he championed, and that his verses gave such battle-songs to. Mr. Gosse is inclined to belittle the poet's sincerity because his republicanism was so confined to his verses. But this way of looking at Swinburne ignores his most characteristic feature. He was essentially a dreamer, living in the imagination. There is no truer picture of him than the one which he gives in *sestina*:

"I saw my soul at rest upon a day,  
As a bird sleeping in the nest of night.  
Among soft leaves that give the starlight way  
To touch its wings, but not its eyes, with light,  
So that it knew as one in visions may  
And knew not, as men waking, of delight.

"This was the measure of my soul's delight :  
 It had no power of joy to fly by day,  
 No part in the large lordship of the night.  
 But in a secret, moon-beholden way  
 Had all its will of dreams and pleasant night  
 And all the love and life that sleepers may."

The whole of Swinburne's life which Mr. Gosse relates, with rather tantalizing discretion, bears out the thought that he

"Sought no strength or knowledge of the day,  
 Nor closer touch conclusive of delight."

To have been told more, or at least in less general terms, about "Algernons' characteristic manner," and the habits from which Mr. Watts-Dunton rescued him, would have intensified the picture of his extraordinary capacity for recovering from any form of emotional excitement so rapidly that it seemed as if nothing had touched him. His poetry shows the same aloofness from the burden and heat of the day, and it is this aloofness which is the cause of both the strength and the weakness of his verse. It made for flights of the most splendid exaltation, but it made, too, for a slightness of thought, amounting sometimes to no more than the weight of rhetoric. Swinburne's song was too often like that of the lark, whose rapture is not probably expressive of the pleasure of escaping from the ground, but because height is his native element.

I. C. W.

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VISITS TO MONASTERIES IN THE LEVANT. By the Hon. Robert Curzon.  
 (Humphrey Milford.) Price 2s. 6d.

Books like Curzon's "Visits to Monasteries" and Layard's "Nineveh" seem, like wine, to gain flavour with age. Grateful as they were to their first mid-Victorian readers on account of their literary qualities as well as of their subject-matter, they have for the twentieth century a spice for the recognition of which we look in vain through the pages of reviews which greeted their publication in 1849. In the *Quarterly*, for instance, of that date (a volume which entertained unawares alongside these two books and "Vanity Fair," "Jane Eyre; an Autobiography, edited by Currer Bell," condemning the latter for committing "the highest moral offence a novelist can commit—that of making an unworthy character interesting in the eyes of the reader"), the long summary of the "Visits" devotes all its appreciation, outside its complacent interest in Curzon's singular bibliographical adventures, to the "greatest and rarest merit of the book," its "total absence of conceits and affectations." The author's "artless, unchecked juvenility of spirit," his "hearty enjoyment and fearless zest for the varieties of sport and fun in his travels"—these are the qualities which so delighted the old *Quarterly* reviewer, unaccustomed to have erudition retailed in such "pure, unaffected English." He rubs his hands with glee over this young gentleman of rank—heir indeed to a peerage—who has eschewed the French tinge characteristic of the time, and is to be found, despite his knowledge of the foreigner, among the elect "who

feel it their peculiar duty to guard uncontaminated the proud inheritance of the native speech." Dear old Victorian respectability! What fun it is to look back at you and to make faces at you over all these years, like the fat lady "whom nobody loves" in Mrs. Cornford's poem, walking through the fields in gloves, "missing so much and so much"! How shocked you would be to find that governesses nowadays often transgress that "invisible but rigid line" which in Jane Eyre's day Providence placed between them and their employers, and that we no longer measure the artistic value of a novel by the worthiness of its interesting characters! If the *Quarterly* reviewer had been able to see an inch farther than the dictionary of unpolluted diction he might have discovered that the greatest and rarest merit of Curzon's "Visits" lay, not in the total absence of literary affectations—a sure proof to 1849 that he mixed in the very best English society—but in the presence of what nowadays is so rarely found in books of travel that when we do find it it seems almost an affectation—the romantic aspect of travel. The original woodcuts which we are delighted to see reproduced in this reprint of the "Visits" show the very tiptops of romantic pleasure—those Levantine monasteries perched like birds' nests on crags as high as we ever imagine the Matterhorn to be, sometimes on isolated pillars of rock rising sheer from passes—to be reached only by pulleys and ladders up the face of precipices. They were situated like that, they are still situated like that; thanks be to the fears and foresight of their patriarchal builders, they may be able to contemplate even Armageddon with equanimity. But, owing to the discoveries of Curzon and other curious travellers, which have awakened Greek interest to the existence of their own national treasures, it is almost certain now that no independent traveller will ever again scale those pinnacled fastnesses of Athos and Metcora with the same glowing hope of recovering lost classics that pulsed through Curzon's adventures. It is the same with regard to the Nitrian convents, those world-famous places of pious resort in the North Libyan desert, that Curzon explored with so much assiduity, and from which he brought so many valuable manuscripts to enrich the library of the British Museum. He has often been abused for robbing the Nitrian monks, but, as Mr. Hogarth reminds us in his preface to the "Visits," the word "robbery" can hardly be applied to the rescue of manuscripts from being torn up to cover preserve-pots or from rotting in fragments piled knee-deep on the floor of an oil-cellar. The ever-darkening ignorance of the monks, both in the Coptic and all the regions which Curzon visited, have for centuries resulted in neglect in the one department where care would have been important, and the "Visits" are full of pictures of this universal ignorance and waste. The following story is a good illustration of the present state of the literary attainments of Oriental monks:

"A Russian, or I do not know whether he was a French traveller, in the pursuit, as I was, of ancient literary treasures, found himself in a great monastery in Bulgaria. . . . His dismay and disappointment may be imagined when he was assured by the *agoumenos*, or superior of the monastery, that it contained no library whatever. . . . The poor man had



bumped upon a pack-saddle over villainous roads for many days for no other object, and the library of which he was in search had vanished as the visions of a dream. The *agoumenos* begged his guest to enter with the monks into the choir, where the almost continual church service was going on, and there he saw the double row of long-bearded holy Fathers shouting away at the chorus of 'Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison,' which occurs almost every minute in the ritual of the Greek Church. Each of the monks was standing, to save his bare legs from the damp of the marble floor, upon a great folio volume which had been removed from the conventual library and applied to purposes of practical utility in the way which I have described. The traveller, on examining these ponderous tomes, found them to be of the greatest value; one was in uncial letters, and others were full of illuminations of the earliest date. All these he was allowed to carry away in exchange for some footstools or hassocks which he presented in their stead to the old monks; they were comfortably covered with ketché, or felt, and were in many respects more convenient than the manuscripts had been, for many of their antique bindings were ornamented with bosses and nailheads which inconvenienced the toes of the unsophisticated congregation, who stood upon them without shoes for so many hours in the day. I must add that the lower halves of the manuscripts were imperfect, from the damp of the floor of the church having corroded and eaten away their vellum leaves."

I. C. W.

## FICTION

MISS HAROUN-AL-RASHID, a romance from Asia Minor. By Jessie Douglas Kerruish. (This novel gained the first prize in Hodder and Stoughton's 1,000 Guineas Prize Novel Competition.) Price 5s. net.

When I was given this book to review, owing perhaps to my being acquainted with life in Turkey, especially in Asia Minor, I naturally opened it with great expectations, because of the success it had achieved; and I must at once confess that these expectations were not disappointed. I may even say that I read through this interesting story at one stretch, only giving way to forcible interruptions, so much was I captivated with it. If I had felt, before opening the book, that I might be able to challenge the author with regard to her descriptions of Eastern life, I soon was convinced, in reading the first chapters, that I had found my master, and that the author, who appears as the heroine of her thrilling tale, is thoroughly versed in her subject.

Her name is Rathia, but for her bravery and courage she was christened Miss Haroun-al-Rashid by Mr. Wilburn, an American archæologist, and colleague of her father, Sir Horne Jerningham, a famous excavator in Asia Minor, who followed in the footsteps of Sir Austen Layard, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Hormuzd Rassam. Rathia, who was an Asiatic on the distaff side, her mother, the first wife of Sir Horne, being an Abasside Princess, proves to be of very great use to her father in his dealings with the natives. The difference between her and her sister Evelyn—the would-be second heroine—daughter of an English mother, is very well accentuated. The situation reaches its climax when on one of her venturous expeditions, disguised in the garb of a Moslem woman, Rathia finds her-

self cut off from her party in a snowstorm, and reaches and enters one of the most fanatical towns of the land. When on her way to Halet Bey, the Mutessariff of the place, where she intends inquiring after her father, Sir Horne, she suddenly finds herself entangled in a rabble pursuing an Armenian boy for having stolen a loaf of bread from a Mahomedan baker. This poor boy, with wonderful intuition in his anguish, throws himself at the feet of Rathia. She shields him with her mantle and veil and throws a shilling to the baker, representing double the amount of the cost of the stolen bread. But this did not satisfy neither the baker nor the mob. They continued their persecution. Indeed, she would have been lost had it not been for a door suddenly opening at her back, and our heroine being seized by a powerful arm and hurried up some stairs into a Christian house, closely followed by her protégé, the Armenian boy. It was Mr. Wilburn, the American archæologist, who had rescued her. But the incident did not end there; it culminated in the uproar made by the crowd because a Moslem woman had found refuge in the house of a Feringhi. The situation became so serious that in order to save herself and her rescuer, Rathia had to proclaim from the top of the house, to the shrieking crowd below, that she was not a Moslemak, but a Feringhi woman, and that consequently there was no harm in her being where she was. "We do not believe thee," was the retort; "you are the daughter of a long line of liars." In order to prove her case she was now asked by the vociferating men in the street to unveil. At this juncture Rathia again raised her voice from the housetop, where she could not be assailed, asserting boldly, and in perfect Turkish, that she was called Miss Jerningham, daughter of one Sir Horne Jerningham, and subject of one the Sultana Victoria of England. Saying this, she flung back her cloak and veil. "Suban Allah!" gulped a semi-chorus; "Allah Akbar!" gasped the rest, and silence was restored at last. The baker, not without disappointment, said to the crowd who had been so willing to help him: "It is true the woman is a shameless Feringhi, child of a long line of noseless mothers." He had lost his prey, and the Mutessarif, who had come rather late to this upheaval, advised the crowd, whom he called his dear children, to disperse; for, he said "that it is the express wish of our gracious lord the Padishah that Feringhis should be well treated in his domains."

One of the chief attractions of this story is the under-current of humour and wit which is mingled with its most dramatic incidents. With a masterly pen the author describes the "mysterious lady" who comes to Rathia's rescue in moments of great danger and anxiety, an Abasside Princess with a long line of ancestors, and who at the end reveals herself as her mother, who was not dead, as believed, but who had gone back to her people in order to shield her child.

In conclusion, we can strongly recommend the perusal of this book to those who wish to gain an insight into the lives of the people inhabiting the shores of the Tigris, where the scene of this story is laid out, a country which has been in the dim past a centre of civilization, and which may again become so in the future.

L. M. R.

## ARTICLES TO NOTE: JULY ISSUES

## NEAR EAST.

- "The Bagdad Railway," by H. Charles Woods; "The Revival of the Arab Nation," by Sidney Low (*Fortnightly Review*).  
 "Greece," by Dr. Ronald Burrows (*Contemporary Review*).  
 "Palestine: its Resources and Suitability for Colonisation," by E. W. G. Masterman, M.D. (*Geographical Journal*).

## RUSSIA.

- "Protopopoff and the Revolution," by E. H. Wilcox (*Fortnightly Review*).

## FAR EAST.

- "The Change of Scene in China," by Mr. Demetrius Boulger (*Contemporary Review*).  
 "The Peace Menace," by Dr. E. J. Dillon (*Fortnightly Review*).

## THE PRESS IN INDIA.

- "Why India should have a Motion Picture Industry," by N. C. Guha (*Modern Review*, May).  
 "Indian Aspirations," by the Maharajah of Bikaner (*Wednesday Review*, May 16).  
 "Why India should help the War Loan," by M. de P. Webb, C.I.E. (*Indian Review*, April).  
 "Wanted: an Academy of Literature," by Lady Katharine Stuart (*Wednesday Review*, May 23).

## FAR EASTERN PRESS.

- "Japan's New Foreign Minister," by C. Watanabe (*Japan Magazine*, April).  
 "The Buddhist Messiah," by Noritake Tsuda (*Japan Magazine*, June).  
 "China and the World War," by Hun Liang-Huang (*Far East*, May 12).

## THE MIDDLE EAST.

- "The Armenian Massacres," by Lewis Einstein (*The New Armenia*, May 15).  
 "The Situation in Armenia," by G. H. Paelian (*Ararat*, May).

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Among the publications issued in Ireland, *Irish Life* has lately been showing an increasing interest in the affairs of Asia in general and of India in particular. In this connection several articles have been published from the pen of Lady Katharine Stuart which are well calculated to stimulate a general interest in the Princes and peoples of the Great Peninsula.

## MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

### OFFENSIVE OR DEFENSIVE ?

THE controversy which has for so long engaged the brains and the pens of military theorists and tactical experts as to the relative merits of the offence and defence in strategy and tactics may perhaps be decided as one of the results of the present war. Most of the great Captains of past ages have favoured a bold offensive policy as the surest road to victory. The past masters in the art of war, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII., Marlborough, Eugene, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, always strove to secure the initiative both in the campaign and in the field. Clive never paid regard to any adverse odds of numbers or position, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. "L'audace, l'audace, toujours l'audace," was the motto of the Generals of the armies of the French Revolution, and of the Marshals of the Empire. Wellington generally adopted defensive tactics, because they were forced upon him by the numerical inferiority and by the defective composition of his armies ; but his genius shone out equally in the offensive, as at Assaye and Salamanca. When the rifle and the breech-loader were successively substituted for the old smooth-bore musket as the weapon of the infantry soldier it was generally anticipated that the defence would thereby obtain a decisive superiority over the attack, and the Emperor Louis Napoleon and his military advisers adopted this principle

with fatal results in the war of 1870. The French soldiers were dispirited by being kept on the defensive, and the superiority of the Germans in point of numbers enabled and encouraged them to assume a bold offensive. Thenceforward the German General Staff has always sounded the praises of the offensive both in strategy and in tactics. Their plans have contemplated the invasion of the neighbouring countries, and in their annual manœuvres the attack was practised in massed formations by the infantry, while the cavalry executed brilliant charges in the open field. It was argued that the superior *morale* engendered by the fact of being the assailant, and the choice of points of attack, would compensate for the heavier losses involved.

So far as strategy is concerned, the German idea has been crowned with success, for by choosing their own time for a sudden declaration of a war for which they had been long and carefully preparing, they were able to carry the war at once into the enemy's country, and so have succeeded in keeping their own land and people safe and secure from the horrors and miseries which inevitably result from the waging of war.

But with regard to tactics, their anticipations have not been realized. They commenced their first campaign with the attempt to reach Paris through Belgium, hurling masses of troops against the French and English fronts with no regard to the losses which they thereby sustained. The appalling amount of the casualties in their ranks was a contributory cause of the sudden cessation of Von Klück's advance on Paris, and his retreat from the Marne to the Aisne. Arrived at the latter river, the Germans reversed their tactical ideas, and dug themselves in, and thus commenced the interminable trench warfare which has now continued without intermission for two years and a half.

So far as the lessons of the present war teach us, it would seem to be proved that when an army well supplied with artillery, machine-guns, and magazine rifles has once occupied a strongly constructed position, no power on earth can

dislodge it, short of famine or the faint-heartedness of the defenders. The Germans could not break through our line at Ypres after weeks of frantic endeavour and the loss of their best men ; and they were equally unable to pierce the French lines before Verdun. We could not get through the Turkish lines at the end of the Gallipoli peninsula, though we attempted the impossible task for six months. We did get through their fortified lines before Baghdad, but it took us a year to do it.

#### GERMANY'S INTRIGUES IN THE EAST.

Bismarck once said that the Eastern Question was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian Grenadier ; his policy was to maintain friendly relations with Russia, and so establish a barrier against the liberal ideas and principles of the Western nations, and prevent any attempt on the part of France to recover possession of Alsace-Lorraine. But it is probable that at the Berlin Congress the astute Chancellor picked Lord Beaconsfield's brains and recognized the value of Turkey as a pawn in the game of European politics, for from the time when Mr. Gladstone abandoned his predecessor's schemes and washed his hands of the Turkish cause altogether, Germany stepped into Britain's place as the defender of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The young Kaiser Wilhelm took up the idea of a new " Drang nach Osten " with avidity ; and the new activity of Germany in the Levant resulted, as Bismarck had foreseen that it would result, in an estrangement between Russia and Germany which soon ripened into mutual hostility. In the tremendous development of this world-war it has almost been forgotten that it originated in the rivalry between Slav and Teuton for ascendancy in the Balkan Peninsula. That land was the highway to Western Asia, the desolate land which was only awaiting the exploitation of its dormant riches by the skill and industry of European financiers and merchants. The markets of Asia Minor were captured by German *commis-voyageurs*, backed by the influence of the

German Embassy ; the Baghdad Railway was planned to bring the produce of the Far East to Central Europe via the Persian Gulf ; a Deutsche Bank was established in Teheran ; and the Turkish Army was organized and drilled by German officers to be used as an auxiliary against Russia in the inevitable struggle for supremacy in the East. The struggle was precipitated by the Balkan War of 1912. Germany had to strike quickly, lest the liberated Principalities of the Peninsula should coalesce with their Russian kinsmen into a Slavonic Empire, and so for ever bar the way of the German to the East. The Turk proved a docile and obedient vassal, and Bulgaria was won over to the same side through her German King.

But the Turk, in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for Germany, has burnt his own fingers badly. He has already lost Armenia to the Russians and Mesopotamia to the British ; his shadowy suzerainty in Arabia, and his Protectorate of the Holy Cities, has vanished away, and he is getting perilously short of men and money. He is not likely to lend an ear again to the specious promises and blatant bragging of his new friends and mentors, who insinuated themselves into his confidence on the plea of rescuing him from his financial thralldom to the Western Powers. In Persia, too, German intrigue has been finally foiled, and Russian and British interests hold the field. The terminus of the Baghdad Railway is in British hands, and an Anglo-Egyptian army blockades the gates of Gaza. The prize for which the German went to war seems to have already vanished from his grasp.

## IMPERIAL RECONSTRUCTION AND THE ROUND TABLE\*

BY DOUGLAS JERROLD

IT is refreshing to turn from the modern historians, with their endless documentary references and cynical disillusionments, to the history of the world written in the older style—flamboyant, rhetorical, argumentative, with a lesson from every country and a generalization for every century. But whether it is also instructive is a more doubtful question. Mr. Curtis and his colleagues of the Round Table, all of whom we suspect are contributors to the main report, the first volume of which we are here considering, have done a very dangerous thing. Sworn as they are to the scheme of Imperial Federation, they have appealed to history to prove the wisdom of their cause. But lest there should be any doubt as to the verdict, they have themselves rewritten the history of the world.

When we find that the failure to recognize and understand the essential principles of a Commonwealth is responsible alike for the "failure" of Eastern civilization, for the fate of Greece and the decay of Rome, and that the recognition of these same principles is responsible for the triumph of England as an Imperial nation, we realize that Mr. Curtis has attempted to prove a good deal.

Mr. Curtis assumes to start with that the civilization of the West is superior to that of the East. The present writer enjoyed an experience that might surprise Mr. Curtis. A distinguished Persian, himself a politician and a scholar, had come over to England to study. Friendly Englishmen showed him the Tube, Westminster Abbey, Harrod's, the Albert Memorial, and the City, and asked him to admire Western civilization. He replied that in Persia they had decided against modern industrialism, and he was not in the least interested for that reason. I asked him what he had come to study, and he said he wanted to see the effect on a nation's character of the practice of Christianity. But I need hardly say that Mr. Curtis's idea of civilization is contained in the blessed word "progress."

Anyway, it is not surprising to hear from Mr. Curtis that "the Oriental, regarding the framework of society as divinely ordained, has treated man as though he were made for the law; the European has treated the law as

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\* "The Commonwealth of Nations," Part I. Edited by L. Curtis. London: Macmillan and Co., 1916.



though it were made for man." What Oriental? and when? and to whom does Mr. Curtis refer in the term European? To the ancient Greeks? the Papacy? the Hohenzollern? the Russian Revolutionaries? or Mr. Lloyd George? We rather fancy that he had Professor Dicey at the back of his mind. But such generalizations are mere Oxford journalism, and should have no place in serious history.

But let us admit that the West has progressed materially far more quickly than the East, and let us see how Mr. Curtis accounts for it. This is due, he says, to the reign of man-made law in the West and to the prevalence of theocracies in the East. After this rather large assumption Mr. Curtis sails gaily on. The reign of law, and the idea that the law was subject to change, led naturally to the adoption of the Commonwealth as the ruling principle of government. By the principle of the Commonwealth is meant the principle of the collective responsibility of the citizens of a State for the government and foreign policy of their country. From this principle of the Commonwealth we can deduce the irresistibly logical claim of Mr. Curtis to be allowed to proceed immediately with a federal Constitution.

Now Mr. Curtis's argument is invalidated by several considerations. The Greek Commonwealth is his first instance: he seeks to prove that the decline of Greece was due to the failure of their federal experiments. "The Greek Commonwealth was too slender to survive." On this there are only two comments: that the prospect of failing like Athens is at least as glorious as that of succeeding like Middlesbrough; and that in point of fact Athens never was a Commonwealth, and never had an Empire. To ascribe Greek civilization to the reign of law and the adoption of the principle of the Commonwealth is an unwarrantable assumption, for Greek civilization began before and continued after her political greatness. It was due in all probability to the same cause as brought about her political decline—to her geographical position, which developed an intimate local patriotism and enabled her to mix freely with other cultures. The rudimentary development of sailing kept most natives from external trade at a time when the Greeks of the Archipelago were in ceaseless communication with one another. That Greek democratic institutions were the development of a thus advanced civilization is the ordinary, the conventional, the only really tenable view. There is no trace of the rule of law in Homer, but much of trading between the islands and the mainland of Asia. Nor was Athens in the least democratic; more than half of its inhabitants were slaves.

Equally gratuitous is it to ascribe the fall of Greece to her failure to federalize—in other words, to make a "State" out of her Empire. A State or nationality is a compromise between race and government. Outside pressure forced Greece to unite against Persia, but the ordinary business of government was far more conveniently carried on without a central Government. Broadly speaking, we may say that nationalities come into permanent existence only where the conflicting claims of race and government are alike best met by this means. In the days of faulty

communication the interests of government tended inevitably to small States. Athens soon found that if she wanted to keep her Empire she had to conquer it. To say that if she had made one State of her Empire, and made all its members citizens, she would have survived, is merely to beg the question. Had the Confederacy of Delos shown any desire to alter their status from allies to joint members of one State, Athens would probably have accepted at once. But the interests of Government were against it; each State preferred to manage its own affairs, and Athens had not the military resources to conquer her allies.

After the regrettable failure of Greece of which Mr. Curtis tells us, we are not surprised to hear that the downfall of the Roman Empire was due to the failure of Rome to adopt representative institutions. She did indeed avoid, we are told, the mistakes made by Athens by making Italy one State.

But once again Mr. Curtis has his eye on political institutions instead of on facts. Does he really think that the granting of citizenship to the Italians unified Italy? The plain fact is that Rome conquered Italy, and Athens did not conquer Greece. The reason why Rome succeeded as well as she did was because she had as much to give as Athens and far less to take away. Local patriotism was less intense, communication less hazardous, civilization (outside Rome) less advanced. The reason why Rome failed, according to Mr. Curtis, was that her citizenship was never a political reality. That is doubtful. The Roman Empire decayed because there was no community of interest. No federal Constitution could have provided this. The Empire was a military necessity imposed on Rome, not a natural compromise of race and government. Whatever form of constitution she had adopted, Rome could never have made one permanent State out of the Eastern and Western Empires.

We have dealt at some length with Mr. Curtis's arguments from analogy in the cases of Greece and Rome because they indicate to our mind a singular bias. To judge a society by its machinery of government is surely to misread history. What made Athens and Rome great was not their Empires or Constitutions, but the ends that their different Governments pursued. Athens definitely proclaimed the maintenance of a high standard of individual civilization to be her object; Rome implicitly did so by devoting her energies to securing over the world that good order and respect for law which were then essential for development. In so far as these ends were achieved, Athens and Rome succeeded. The Colonial Empire of Athens, had it become permanent, would probably have hastened her decline. Had it been possible for Rome (which was in the circumstances impossible) to stop short in her conquests at that point at which the organization of a permanent democratic State was possible, she might have lasted longer as a political power—as a civilizing agency she would have been less effective.

We pass over Mr. Curtis's sketch of medieval histories, and come to his sketch of English history. Here he finds his Commonwealth at last in its perfection: the principle of representative government, raising the level of

popular intelligence, and placing us ahead of the bigotry of Spain and the centralizing autocracy of France, won for us our Empire. So, we are told, England has succeeded where Greece and Rome failed, and English history is represented as one continuous movement towards a broader freedom, a movement which to-day has reached its zenith. Once again Mr. Curtis, instead of keeping his eye firmly fixed on social conditions, has considered only political institutions.

William the Conqueror made England one "State." In other words, he conquered it. Following on this, Mr. Curtis enthuses over the establishment of the King's assizes, which centralized justice and diminished the power of the barons; of Magna Carta, which was the reaction from this, we hear nothing, nor of the villeins. For Mr. Curtis, England was always a land of freemen. And we are surprised to learn that the first burgesses were summoned to Westminster as a training in self-government and responsibility! They were summoned because the King had wisely noted the great defect of representative government, which is that when representatives leave their constituency they cease to represent anyone but themselves. Locally, they could not resist local pressure, and voted but small credits. At Westminster they were more generous.

Eventually, however, the middle classes defeated the Crown, and the divine right of property succeeded the divine right of Kings. Modern industrialism, by giving to the middle classes an economic supremacy, enabled them to yield a shadow of political independence to their employees—that was in 1868. And yet the British Empire is ascribed by Mr. Curtis to the adoption of the principles of the Commonwealth. If it is due to one cause more than another, it is due to the fact that the manufacturing classes have acquired a more exclusive control of the political machine in England than elsewhere. But what has made the British Empire a thing for pride and not shame is that, acquiring it, as Seely said, in a fit of absence of mind, its governors have consistently pursued, at any rate as one of their aims, the good of its inhabitants. If we wished to draw a lesson in the utility of political institutions, the British Empire is a better advertisement for the bureaucracy which has governed India than for the Parliamentary Government which sees the English slum.

But in truth the one parallel is as false as the other; the workman, not the tool, is responsible; and it is the merest juggling with words to say that democracy has made England what it is.

If we are to learn anything from history it is that nationalities and States are creatures of delicate growth which must have a definite *raison d'être*, and that no political formula can be trusted to produce a definite practical result. What make or mar a Constitution are the intentions of the ruler who administers it.

Suppose a federal Constitution for the British Empire, and let us see in the light of these principles what is the likely result.

In the first place, as a compromise between race and government, the new State seems superfluous; the claims of race are slender. Australians, Canadians, Boers, have all a distinctive national feeling which is almost as

keen as, and in some cases keener than, their sense of British kinship. Would it be stimulated by the grant of British citizenship in its technical sense—sentimentally, such citizenship exists already? Would government be rendered easier or more efficient? For if not, the technicality of British citizenship would be more of a curse than a blessing. And what are the intentions of the federalists? The white man's burden, of course—that is to be distributed; India to be governed by a federal Parliament, also Egypt and the dependencies. Over the sacred duty of withholding the franchise from Indians Mr. Curtis is indeed eloquent. In fact, he compares it, if we remember aright, with the withholding of the franchise from infants. Comment is unnecessary.

But so far these ends of government are in principle unexceptionable; we have embarked on a policy in India which we cannot leave incomplete. What other ends is this federal Government going to pursue? Of that we are told nothing, save that it will be able to pursue a united foreign policy. And here we come to the crux of the problem. Why should a federal Foreign Office lead to a foreign policy agreed by the federated States? What it does and must eventually lead to is that minority States will become responsible for a foreign policy with which they do not agree through the action of the majority of the federal Parliament. At present we cannot in practice commit Australia, Canada, South Africa, or New Zealand to an offensive war; in a federal Parliament we could commit any two of them against their will.

If Mr. Curtis had been less confident that the democratic character of the Ecclesia had made Athens, and that representative government had made the English Empire, he would perhaps have hesitated to offer as a working scheme a federal Parliament dealing with the Army and Navy, the government of the dependencies, and the foreign policy of the Empire.\* History tells us plainly that States do not flourish without a *raison d'être*, and a *raison d'être* for destroying four budding nationalities and establishing a British Commonwealth is yet to seek. Yet, as Mr. Curtis points out, the control of foreign policy is essential to real self-government, and so the dilemma is apparently complete. But the alternatives are not political realities. Federalism or separation—neither is a matter of practical politics. Nor does it matter, for nations are not held together by political institutions, but by the pursuit of common aims. As soon as the aims of a federalized Empire become diverse the political union would go the way of the spiritual union which had made it possible. As long as the aims of the five nations of the British Empire remain the same, the Empire stands. Against federalism there is one argument, that it is unnecessary. The safeguard of the Empire is that in any political adventure we have to carry with us the approval of five free nations and the goodwill of India and Egypt, if we are to maintain our prestige and our strength. That is an insurance against opportunism, rash promises, and greedy adventures which is worth much. By a federation of nations we

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\* "The Problem of the Commonwealth." Edited by L. Curtis. Macmillan, 1916.

should insure unity of action at a crisis, but not unity of heart; and unity of heart is essential to effective joint action. Of that unity of heart the Crown is the symbol, and the only possible symbol.

It is noteworthy in this connection that Lord Cromer,\* in his last published essay on Imperial Federation, looks for his solution to regular consultations between the different States and the English Government as the most probable solution. An Imperial Parliament, he points out, would never be accepted as a solution unless England had a predominant voice in it. He further says that, unless the fatal principle of the "liberum veto" were introduced, no power on earth could prevent on occasions the coercion of a minority.

If we are to learn anything from Greece or Rome we can note that a measure of federation did not save the Athenian Empire, and that the failure to attempt any sort of federation did not interfere with the development of Rome. Empires are built on more solid foundations than written constitutions. In other words, the advantages or disadvantages of federalism depend on its practical convenience; in itself it will neither build up nor destroy.

Assuming, as we happily may, that community of interest which alone can bind five nations together, and assuming the justice of our political ends which alone can prevent the alliance from exciting the envy of the world, will federalism as a matter of practical politics strengthen our executive power? It seems hardly conceivable; the Imperial Cabinet may contain no representation of one of the allied States. If a question of policy arose dividing, say, Canada from the rest of the Empire, the Canadian minority in the Imperial Parliament would unquestionably not be represented, and if the Constitution rendered the assent of a majority of each State necessary to executive action, a deadlock would be created.

The test of constitutions lies not in their smooth working in peace time, but in their flexibility in time of stress and division, and Mr. Curtis gives us hints that his scheme will stand this test. It is noticeable that neither Lord Cromer nor General Smuts seems to place much faith in the ability of federalism to solve this particular problem. His experience of representative Governments may perhaps account for this. One man cannot in any real sense represent 70,000 men and women. The unrepresented minorities in Great Britain are often in aggregate larger than the majorities which are represented. This factor will tend to be more and more important as constituencies increase in population; only in constituencies homogeneous enough to have a predominant common interest is representation effective. An Imperial Parliament, unless it numbered several thousands, would represent little but the ironies of chance, and its members would have in all probability but little influence over their constituents. Of these intimate practical problems, which can here only be mentioned in the barest outline, Mr. Curtis says all too little; rather he seeks to sweep away objections by a torrent of rhetoric and a cumulative argument from

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\* "After-the-War Problems." London: Allen and Unwin, 1917. 7s. 6d. net.

history in which, as we have intimated, he attempts to show that it is on the measure of federation successfully achieved that the fate of Empires has in the past depended.

From this view we have, with all respect for Mr. Curtis's learning and eloquence, dissented.

Of the problem of India neither Mr. Curtis nor Lord Cromer, in the essay referred to above, has attempted a solution. Yet, if we are to accept the only hopeful estimate of our work in India, we are, slowly, perhaps, but very surely, preparing the way for the grant of self-government. And in that case federalism, so far from being a help in maintaining the unity of the Empire, might then prove an obstacle.

To picture to oneself an Imperial Parliament containing delegates from India in anything like fair proportions to her population is to envisage at once the complexity of the problem.

We venture to say that though Mr. Curtis and his colleagues have written an able and brilliant book, their solution of the imperial problem involves measures which are rash, uncalled for, and unlikely to achieve the desired end.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.



## THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

### CHAPTER V

ON November 20, 1885, a well attended meeting was held at the Westminster Town Hall under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Lord Harris, then Her Majesty's Under-Secretary of State for India, when a paper was read by Manmohar Lal Byramjee Dadabhoi, Esq., on "The Administration of India by England."

Mr. Dadabhoi, in a long and able review, showed how greatly India had progressed politically, morally, and socially, under British rule during the last fifty years. One by one almost every barrier of race supremacy had been swept away, and of late years especially the Indian Government had lost no fair opportunity of opening out new careers to native ambition. In its efforts to promote the material welfare of the Indian people, the British Government had also achieved a large measure of success. The rise of great mercantile towns and cities, the steady increase in various items of revenue, the good wages earned by large numbers of people on the many public works that cover the country, and in the many industries which during late years have been called into busy play, the vast extension of the cultivated area, the sextupling of the export trade in fifty years, the rapidly increasing numbers of the official and professional classes, the increasing number of suits in the Civil Courts, the increasing

value of landed property, the swift recovery of the land revenue after a widespread famine—all these things attested the progress in well-being which India has made, and is making, under the benign British rule. In conclusion, Mr. Dadabhoy begged his hearers to believe that the people of India, with the exception of a few fanatics and dreamers, have too long enjoyed the blessings of the just, merciful, and enlightened rule of England to think of exchanging it for any vision of an absolute freedom, which would almost certainly end in chronic anarchy or despotism of the worst type.

Early in the following year Nanda Lal Ghosh, Esq., B.A., read a paper in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, under the presidency of Sir Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., M.P., on the "Necessity for an Inquiry into the Administration of India."

He urged that it was a fallacy to hold that the Liberal party alone was anxious to do justice to India. The leaders of both political parties were anxious to reduce the grievances of India, and were ready to mend defects in the machinery with which she was ruled—where such defects were proved to exist.

The Government had announced their intention of appointing a Joint Committee of a number of Members of both Houses of Parliament. He thought that such a proposal was defective in its nature, and that such a Committee was, to a great extent, unsuited to conduct the inquiry in its various phases. The operations of a Parliamentary Committee could only be confined to this country, and it would be precluded from seeking independent evidence in India and seeing the present administrative machinery actually at work there. The main channel through which they would obtain evidence would be the India Office, the very constitution that would stand upon its trial. Many independent and unquestionably competent witnesses, whose evidence would pre-eminently help the investigation, and many most able,



educated, statesmanlike, and recognized leaders of Indian opinion, would be prevented from appearing before this Committee, owing to their age and to religious and caste obstacles. The appointment of a Royal Commission instead of a Parliamentary Committee would overcome all these difficulties. He submitted that the inquiry should be directed to ascertain not only whether the Government of India Act, 1858, and the subsequent amending Acts, had been obeyed and carried out in letter and in spirit, but also to discover whether they had proved beneficial; and, if not, whether the time had not arrived for altering and amending them to suit the altered condition of the people, or, in other words, whether there should be a development of the Constitution. The inquiry should be directed to every Department of the Government of India, and should commence with the constitution and utility of the India Council. The next subject of inquiry should be the constitution and utility of the Viceroy's Council and the Councils of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of India.

Without revolution the Constitution of England had gradually drawn elements within its pale as they had proved ripe and strong, and the same process would have to be adopted in India. Whether the whole people or a portion are in a condition to be invited within the Constitution should be carefully inquired into. Nothing would be more satisfactory than a settlement once for all of the vexed question of Indian finance. Land was the chief source of revenue, but the condition of the soil was exhausted, and whether it could bear the burden placed upon it now was a problem the magnitude of which could not be exaggerated. Then the Civil Service question occupied a front rank in importance, and with regard to the military expenses in India, it was high time that the relation between the War Office and the Indian Exchequer was inquired into. The public works policy of the State, the salt tax, and the depression of the value of silver, were

all matters which demanded inquiry, together with many other subjects.

On Friday, July 8, 1887, the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., occupied the chair at the Westminster Town Hall, when a very interesting paper by A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A., on "The Indian Civil Service and the Further Admission of Natives of India," was discussed.

Mr. Connell held that though the "New India," described by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Cotton, might largely influence public opinion in the towns, "Old India" still governed the country; and he agreed with Professor Seely that the Native India was not in the modern stage, not even in the medieval stage, and, we might add, to some extent it was in the primeval state.

Dealing with the question of having Open Competition in India for the Indian Civil Service, he declared that the ultimate outcome would be the violation of the first principle of statesmanship laid down by all political thinkers since Aristotle—namely, "that political power and physical force must be in the same hands."

In reply to the contention that two or three years' training in England would produce the Imperial type of character which is requisite for Imperial service, he declared that character was not changed at this rate. He said: "Such training may no doubt give a certain amount of independence of mind to a native candidate, but I think it is much more likely to hamper his inherited force of will and natural common sense and to make him into a mechanical copyist of the worst qualities of Englishmen. The Bengali official would probably out-herod Herod in his Anglomania, and, like the French democrat of last century, be wholly given up to the theory of government by formulæ. The Bengali has his own natural excellences, but the spectacle of the Bengali bureaucrat supported on the throne of the Great Mogul by British bayonets, suckled on the tinned milk and swathed in the red tape of British bureaus, is not, to my mind, to be regarded as the beatific vision of Imperial

statesmanship. No ; what we want is not to Anglicize, not to Bengalize, India, not to produce a dull uniformity, not to sweep away all diversity of genius, manners, and customs, but to foster diversity of native products, to fertilize the native soil, to improve the native seed, and to purify the native wells ; to evoke a higher spirit in the heart of every native community, each native kingdom, to bring to the top those best qualified in every respect to be the leading men. It seems to me, therefore, that we must put aside as wholly impracticable an Imperial Open Competition system in India, and lay down as the conditions of any larger admission of natives to the public service—first, that the method of selection must be provincial ; secondly, that it must secure the admission of members of those classes who may be called the natural leaders of native society.”

He proposed that the whole Civil Service should be separated into three main divisions, with an appropriate scale of salary and pension assigned to each grade. The highest grade should remain on the whole European, on the ground that it is impossible to separate the supreme Civil and Military powers of the State, and that if the Army is to remain for the most part in European hands, the Civil Administration must be controlled by Europeans also.

He urged that the age of candidates selected by competition should be raised to twenty-one, if not to twenty-two or twenty-three, in order that men of wider experience, maturer judgment, and greater knowledge of the world might be sent out to India. For we must not forget what are the situations held by Europeans in India, even in the lower places of the Civil Service. They are, to use Burke’s words, “the situations of great statesmen which, according to the practice of the world, require, to fill properly, rather a larger converse with men and much intercourse in life than deep study of books, though that too has general service. We know that in the habits of civilized life in cultivated society, there is imbibed by men a good deal of the solid

practice of government, of the true maxims of State, and everything that enables a man to serve his country." Such training is still more necessary in India than it was fifty years ago, because there is less of that administrative independence and individual responsibility which used to quickly develop the character and judgment of even young officers, and with the increase of Anglo-Indian society, and the closer contact of India and England, there is less social intercourse with native gentry than there used to be. The growing authority of every bureaucratic régime forces into its ordained course the personality of each newcomer and the younger he is the more likely he is to fall completely into official grooves, and the less likely to keep his mind open for the assimilation of extra-official ideas. This is especially the danger in India, where the existence of a somewhat secretive system of Government puts a great obstacle in the way of the formation of vigilant and powerful criticism outside the official body. In his minute on this question, Lord Ripon strongly insisted on this consideration: "It is important that the men who enter the Indian Civil Service should be men trained by the best English methods, and thoroughly imbued with the highest English thought. The influences to which English youths are exposed in this country are to no small extent of a narrow kind, powerful in a limited society, but not calculated to keep alive the best tendencies of English opinion. The boy whose real education is stopped at eighteen or earlier, and who, after that age, instead of receiving the widest and most complete education of the day, is thenceforth to be trained specially for an Indian career, will not have acquired, before he arrives in India, that grasp of sound principles, moral, economical, and political, which it is of the utmost importance that, as the future representative of English opinion and feeling among the natives of India, he should possess. What we want in India are Englishmen in the best and fullest meaning of the term, able to hold their own in the midst of narrowing influences and local prejudices, not

English boys, who are too young and too unformed in character not to fall, as a rule, into the current of the opinion in the midst of which their lot is cast." Not only would a higher age for open competition bring to India men of larger experience and wider culture, it would in all probability raise the social status of the candidates. It has been stated to me on the best authority that we have, since the age was lowered, been sending out to India a lower type of social man, and this has been attributed to the fact that parents of a socially inferior grade make up their minds more quickly as regards their sons' careers, while parents of higher social status, who generally send their sons to the Universities, have a tendency to postpone the choice of a profession. When their sons begin to decide for themselves they find an Indian career closed. Some may think that India is none the worse for losing such men, but as a matter of fact it suffers to a serious extent from the absence of some valuable qualities in its rulers, and those for the most part the instinctive outcome of hereditary breeding, tact, courtesy, and dignity of demeanour. No one who has been in India can fail to appreciate the remark of the late W. Bagehot, that good manners play a much more important part in the world the farther you go East. In the land of castles, ceremonies, and customs like India, any rudeness of manner is particularly resented, and brings discredit on the Government. The growing number of a somewhat rough class of Englishmen engaged in trade, or on the railways and public works, etc., makes it particularly necessary for the official classes to set an example of politeness and courtesy. The old traditions, which used, under the Haileybury nomination system, to be handed down in Anglo-Indian families, ought to be preserved as much as possible under the open competition system.

The aim of the Government should be to enlist in the different branches of its service those men who are most fitted by their training to perform well the duties required of them; and training must be understood to mean not

merely that of the school and college, but of domestic traditions, social positions, worldly experience, and professional success. But whether these be the best lines or not on which to proceed, Mr. Connell showed that there was an overwhelming body of reasons for adopting some method for further associating Indians in the work of administration, and for securing to them their inherent right to occupy administrative positions in their own country.

In commenting on this paper Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji declared that British rule in India was not based on sixty thousand or a hundred thousand bayonets: "No," he said; "it is based on the confidence, the intense faith, like the one that I hold, in the justice, the conscience, and the honour of the British nation."

Dr. G. W. Leitner, who also took part in the discussion and debate, said that whereas from 1864 to 1882 he had the task of pointing out that being black was not a disadvantage, since 1882 he had occasionally had to bring forward the equally important fact that being white is not a disadvantage. He had to point out that "Indian opinion" was a vague term, just the same as to speak of "European opinion" would be the vaguest of terms. "If," he said, "you could come to think of the vastness of India, you have to approach every question advocated by a native of that great continent with the inquiry, 'Who is he?'—of what particular caste, what particular race? What are the traditions that govern him? And, giving him the full benefit of that knowledge, receiving what he says with greatest respect, still you must limit your opinion by those particular circumstances; otherwise you may be taking as 'Indian opinion' what would be equivalent to taking as European opinion, say, the opinion of a Portuguese peasant, as contrasted with that of a British nobleman, upon Gladstone's last utterance. To begin with, the whole of Europe, educated as it is, may not know of that utterance—it is possible to conceive this—whereas in India the races are so different, the interests are so varied, that with every wish and desire to do the best for

the peoples of India, we are bound to ask, 'Who is he?' From that point of view, I find myself in some conflict with my honourable friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, than whom there can be no greater well-wisher of India; but a well-wisher of what part of India, and educated in what particular training, and representing what particular section of the community of India? He represents the sober-minded, educated community of Bombay, in which the ancient moorings have not been entirely lost sight of, and in which reverence for existing associations still combines a regard for ancient culture with a keen perception of modern requirements. It is not a Province in which the aristocracy is so prominent as elsewhere, but there, as elsewhere, what entitles people to rule is power, character, loyalty to the Government, and 'a stake in the country,' and, with regard to the rest, proved merit. If by proved merit any native of India, no matter of what caste, can rise, there is not the least doubt that he should be encouraged to do so, and if my humble aid is of the least importance in such an effort, that aid shall ever be ungrudgingly given. And I may say at once that I think that of ten men employed in the Government of India, certainly nine ought to be natives."

In closing the debate, Mr. John Bright recalled the fact that as far back as the year 1853, when the question of the renewal of the Charter was before Parliament, he formed one of a small Committee that called itself an "Indian Reform Association," which did its best to expose what they regarded as the evil characters of the Government of the day with the view of preventing any renewal of the East India Company's Charter. "We were not," he said, "fortunate in accomplishing more than some exposition of our views; we were not fortunate in preventing the renewal. On one occasion we had a debate in the House of Commons, and Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, who was then the President of the Board of Control (which was the title of the Indian Minister of that day), rose at five o'clock in the afternoon, soon after the House met, and made a

speech which lasted until ten o'clock. (Laughter.) That was five hours, and the whole of his speech was a continuous eulogy of the India Company, and of its manner of managing this great Government of India. When he sat down at ten o'clock, I rose to answer him, and I spoke until twelve o'clock. (Laughter.) The Indian Minister and myself had the whole of that night to ourselves, but he had five hours and I had two. Since, then, as we all know, there has been a wonderful step forward in India, although it might have been still greater. There have been canals dug, some of them, I believe, not very successful undertakings; there have been railways made to a large but still to by no means a sufficient extent. There have been telegraphs established to all the principal portions of the country. There have been many steps taken, as Dr. Leitner could tell us, on behalf of education, and there is abundant room for much more effort in that direction. There has also been in existence a Free Press, which is a remarkable thing in a country under a despotic Government, and not only a Free Press, but there is the right apparently—for I have read many reports of them—practised of holding public meetings in various parts of India, and discussing freely, apparently, all kinds of public questions. Now, it is a wonderful thing for a despotic Government to allow to the people it governs the privileges and the practices of free nations. It is one of the things of which I think the English Government in India may be proud, and one also, I think, which the natives of India ought to take into account when they are sometimes probably induced to judge hardly of those who have become their rulers."

In 1888 Sir Roper Lethbridge read a most interesting and instructive paper on "The Gold Fields of Southern India," the Right Hon. the Lord Harris being in the chair, and this was followed later on by a paper by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Leslie Charles Probyn, formerly Accountant-General and Commissioner of Paper Currency in Madras, dealing with the "Proposed Gold Standard for India."



The year 1888-89 closed with a paper read by C. W. Whish, I.C.S., on "The Indian National Congress and the Indian Patriotic Association." The meeting to hear this paper read was held in the Westminster Town Hall, and Sir Roper Lethbridge presided. Mr. Whish advocated the formation of a moderate party of Indian politicians, having a journal and charging itself with the guidance of Indian politics on moderate lines, and urged that it was the duty of all who desired to do something for the good of the Indian Empire to bring their collective intelligence to bear upon this task.



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

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ON the arrival in Bombay of the delegates from India to the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir gave the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor:

"I hope the war has brought India and England together. The part India has played, her splendid patriotism, and the bravery of her gallant sons, appeal to the imagination of England as nothing ever did before."

The delegates were able to tell of the goodwill towards India which had been evident in all parts of this country among statesmen and people and the representatives of the Overseas Dominions; also of the hope that mutual confidence and understanding would go far to remove specific grievances of Indians against particular Dominions.

In the House of Commons, in reply to a question by Mr. Charles Roberts, the Secretary of State for India made a statement with regard to the results of the historic gathering. He laid stress on two important decisions: that India is to be represented at the annual session of the Imperial Cabinet by a nominee of the Government of India as well as by the Secretary of State, and that by the amendment of the constitution of the Imperial Conference India will be represented at future sittings with the same right of speech and vote as is accorded to the representatives of the other Governments.

"These decisions," said Mr. Austen Chamberlain, "mark an immense advance in the position of India in the Empire. They admit the Government of India to full partnership in the Councils of the Empire with the other Governments represented at them."

In answer to further questions Mr. Chamberlain stated that, with regard to the nominee to the Cabinet, no rule as to race or qualification had been laid down, but it is clearly contemplated that, except under peculiar circumstances, the representative will be an Indian. Also the assent of Parliament was not required for carrying these changes into effect, but he was sure it would be heartily given.

On the subject of Indian emigration to self-governing Dominions the Secretary of State observed :

"The representatives of India recognize the right of each Dominion to settle its own immigration laws whether as regards emigrants from Asia or Europe, and we do not claim the unrestricted right of settlement for Indians. What we asked was that, in the first place, such questions should be treated on a footing of reciprocity; in the second place, that British Asiatics should be as favourably treated as alien Asiatics; thirdly, that facilities for travel and study, as apart from settlement, should be freely given; and that, lastly, sympathetic attention should be given to those Indians who had already been permitted to settle in the Dominions."

Commenting on these results, *The Times* declared that "if the War Cabinet had done nothing more than to admit India to full partnership in the Councils of the Empire, that would have been an immense step forward"; and added, concerning the probability of satisfactory arrangements about the vexed question of Indian emigration: "It shows what can be done when responsible men, who are conscious of the strong community of devotion to British ideals, meet on equal terms to find a way out of apparently hopeless dilemmas."

A Blue Book has been issued giving reports of the sittings of the Imperial War Conference, with asterisks denoting certain necessary missions.

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On the day before his departure for India Sir S. P. Sinha attended an "At Home" of the Indian Women's Education Association, given by Lady Muir-Mackenzie and Lady Wedderburn at 22, Draycott Place, London. He was warmly welcomed, and, speaking of the great need of education throughout India, asked, how could the nation of India be built up if the larger half of the population were uneducated? He pointed out that in Calcutta there were only three High Schools for girls; they were quite inadequate to meet the demands made upon them; other cities might be a little better equipped, but fell far short of requirements. An excellent means of helping, said Sir S. P. Sinha, was for friends in this country to impress upon the authorities that money could not be better spent in India than on education, especially the education of women. Sir John Cockburn, who, as Governor of South Australia, had been instrumental in carrying through the bill for the enfranchisement of women, expressed his faith in the ability of women to take their part in the full life of the nation, advocated the extension of educational facilities for women in India, and declared that East and West must be brought together as complementary factors, each giving to and receiving from the other. A special interest of the meeting was the presence of two trained Indian women experienced in teaching—Miss Mary Sorabji, whose school at Poona is well known for its long record of excellent service in the education of girls; and Mrs. Raj Kumari Das, who has for several years been Principal of the Brahmo Somaj School for Girls at Calcutta, and holds the Gokhale Scholarship for this year; she is studying at the London

County Council Training College for Teachers. Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Lady Muir-Mackenzie, and the two Indian teachers, also spoke at the meeting.

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Lord Carmichael presided at the meeting of the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section), at which Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., read a valuable paper on "The Development of Banking and Thrift in India." The lecturer insisted that in the future India must, in the main, rely upon herself and look to her own resources for the capital required for her own development, and pointed out that the habit of saving for profitable employment is not contrary to the tradition of the people of India; therefore there should be no insuperable difficulties in resuscitating this instinct in a more active and widely diffused form. Speaking of co-operation, Mr. Chatterjee said that not only does it teach thrift, but it enlightens the mind of the peasant and makes him anxious to adopt new and improved methods which involve the investment of larger capital. He gave particulars of the various kinds of banks in India, and declared his belief that events are shaping towards a Central State Bank, which, he said, would be likely to carry out with success the work of raising loans for productive or development purposes. Mr. Chatterjee maintained that it is unsafe to leave the question of a State Bank for settlement as one of the numerous after-the-war problems, when there may be a renewed impulse for speculative, ill-managed, or dishonest enterprise. "It is essential," he added, "at the present critical moment that national thrift and sound banking should be encouraged by every possible means, and one of the means is to exterminate all doubtful pretenders to the name and prestige of a bank." In a short speech Lord Carmichael expressed his pleasure in hearing the paper and his gratification that Mr. Chatterjee was on the alert with regard to the danger of speculation after the war.

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"What characteristic will India contribute to the Co-operative Movement?" asked Dr. John Matthai in a lecture he gave on "Agricultural Co-operation in India" before the National Indian Association on June 8. He said that European countries had each contributed their characteristic: Germany, legal rules and innumerable regulations; France, centralization; Denmark, shrewd business; Ireland, idealism. India's contribution, he considered, would be a greater feeling of brotherliness. The whole social life of India is based on groups—caste, joint family, village communities. With regard to association of the State with the Co-operative Movement, Dr. Matthai pointed out that although it was the wisest to eliminate State control, India must be regarded as an exception. Association with the State was essential; the enormous prestige of the sircar was necessary for financial success, and based on the security of the Government the movement inspired confidence. Sir Murray Hammick and Sir James Wilson spoke warmly in support of the Co-operative Movement in India.

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It was a happy arrangement which put Lady Carmichael in the chair at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association, 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on June 13, for she has been associated with the branches of the Association in Madras and in Calcutta. She pointed out from personal knowledge how the war has brought together the members of the Association in the desire to help those who are suffering. The Association provides comforts for eleven regiments, all of which have been sent by post. The work of packing the parcels in waterproof, and then in jute, is no light task, but British and Indian ladies have become quite experts in this direction. Indian ladies, she added, have also undertaken the work of making sweets for the Indian soldiers, and their thought has been keenly appreciated wherever Indians are fighting; and an exhibition in Calcutta of all that was being made for the soldiers attracted a great many visitors and showed the useful work carried out by the Association. Recently a sub-committee has been formed with the special object of forwarding educational work. "The National Indian Association," said Lady Carmichael, "has done much, and I hope will do still more, to bring about that spirit of friendliness which, perhaps more than anything else, is needed in India, where people of different race and traditions must work together."

Lady Katherine Stuart spoke on the importance of the co-operation of men and women for national welfare, and Sir Leslie Porter on the necessity for the extension of education, particularly among women, in India. He declared that the last three years have taught the necessity of the solidarity of the Empire; to bring East and West together is a paramount duty.

Other speakers were Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Sir James Wilson, and Sir Charles Lyall.

A. A. S.

At the meeting of the United Russia Societies on June 15 at King's College, Baron Heyking delivered a very interesting lecture on English and Russian ideas of duelling. Sir Albert Spicer was in the chair.

The lecturer pointed out that duelling was an anachronism in England, and should also become one on the Continent. It set up an entirely false standard of honour, and gave an unfair advantage to skilled swordsmen. It could not even be said that an ardent duellist was a courageous man. On the contrary, during the agrarian disorders in Russia in 1905, when the landlords required real courage, it was found that those who did not face the music were for the most part very keen duellists. He thought that the present Anglo-Russian friendship, with its ventilation of English ideas in Russia, would serve to put a stop to duelling in Russia.

Dr. Burrows, in opening the discussion, declared that Baron Heyking's paper was just the sort of thing required to make the debates of the Society successful—in fact, it was a model paper. He reminded us that the last duel fought in England was in the grounds of King's College, by the Iron Duke. Madame Olga Novikoff related the true story of that last duel. At the end of an interesting debate, in moving a vote of

thanks to the lecturer and chairman, Dr. John Pollen called attention to the perfect elocution of the lecturer, the admirable grouping of the facts, and the deeply interesting personal recollections with which he was able to illustrate his subject. His clearness and excellent elocution were only rivalled by that of Madame Novikoff, who certainly must have deeply gratified the audience by the interesting anecdote with which she too had thrown light on the subject of the lecture. Dr. Burrows, to whom they were all indebted for the interesting manner in which he opened the debate, had shown how closely King's College itself had been connected with the final stages of duelling in England, and the audience would not soon forget that the Great Duke himself had not thought it unworthy to assert the rights of the College by means of a challenge. Dr. Burrows had expressed the hope that he (Dr. Pollen) could give some evidence as to the manner in which duelling was regarded by the Japanese, but unfortunately, although he knew something of the Near and more of the Middle East, he had never yet had the privilege of visiting Japan. We know, however, that the duel of Japan often took the form of suicide, a struggle between the two natures in the man himself; and the Japanese was always ready to sacrifice himself for his own highest ideal. Duelling, as the lecturer had explained, had certainly died out amongst the nobler nations, but, like war, it would never entirely disappear until the nations abandoned what he would call "top-dogging"—i.e., the domination of one race over another race or people, and until it was established as the first principle of a world-wide citizenship that every man was entitled to speak the speech he preferred, and worship his Creator according to his own ideas of worship, in the land or country in which he happened to be born or bred. (Cheers.)

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With Sir John Hewett to present the Royal Asiatic Society's Public Schools' Gold Medal on June 12, there was a double interest in the gathering, for, in addition to the link between schoolboys of the West and the history and romance of India, which the Society's medal furnishes, Sir John, as chairman of the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies, represented an institution which stands for a still wider contact between East and West. There was a fitness, too, in the presentation of the medal by a representative of the new School, for it is largely through the efforts of the Royal Asiatic Society that the School of Oriental Studies has come into existence. The history of the Sikhs was the subject of this year's essay, and both Mr. Longworth Dames—who presided in the regretted absence of Lord Reay, owing to his serious accident—and Sir John Hewett gave speeches on the Sikhs, emphasizing special points in the wonderful record. In this way the audience, on the occasion, received enlightenment. The winner of the Gold Medal this year is Mr. A. Mervyn Davies, of Bishop's Stortford College, one of the schools which have come within the scope of the competition since it has been thrown open to those—114 in number—which are represented on the Headmasters' Conference. Mr. Davies was warmly complimented upon his essay, which was declared to be one of the best ever sent in for competition for the medal.

An interesting point mentioned by Sir John Hewett, in connection with the Sikh soldiers who fought in France, was that, through the Indian Soldiers' Fund, the men were made happy by the provision of their five sacred symbols, to replace those lost through stress of war conditions. Copies of the Granth Sahb were also given to them; and the provision of cocoanut oil and combs for their hair gave great satisfaction.

With regard to the School of Oriental Studies, Sir John stated that there are 124 students this term, among them thirty officers of the army, who are studying Arabic and Turkish. Dr. Denison Ross, Principal of the School and Professor of Persian, also teaches Thibetan. Classes have been opened for Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu, Pali, Chinese, Japanese, and the African languages Swahili, Hausa, and Bantu. Public lectures also are given, including two courses under the Forlong bequest, on Oriental religions, customs, and history. Sir John said that India, with its many languages, could hardly be spoken of as a nation, but he thought it might become a nation through the general dissemination of the English language. He fully endorsed the strong insistence in the report of the Public Services Commission on the need for the study of Indian history, and declared that no one can regard himself as qualified to take an active part in the solution of Indian administrative problems to-day unless he has acquired a general knowledge of the history of India from the earliest times, and has studied the effect of the different religious movements on the feelings, customs, and prejudices of the people influenced by them.

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London saw a special and unique celebration on Empire Day, ably carried out in the Y.M.C.A. Central Hall, under the auspices of the Union of East and West, under the title of "Bharata." Mr. K. N. Das Gupta, the author of this clever presentment of Indian history, expects to publish it shortly, and so make it possible for it to be given in the schools throughout the land. Fourteen children, girls and boys, from one of the London County Council schools of the north of London were the delightful and delighted players, who, through a wandering minstrel, a story-teller, and others, heard of the ancient, medieval, and modern history of India, and were fascinated by stories from the "Ramayana" and "Mahabharata," of Padmini and the Rajputs of Chitor, and other great men and women of India, and by question and answer came to understand something of the extent and diversity of the land and its people, of the method of government in pre-British days and under British rule, of the great services of India throughout the war. They sang, with the musician, a Hindustani song, and joined in a solemn invocation, and the National Anthem concluded the proceedings.

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At the annual meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association it was pointed out that although intemperance had not become widespread in India, it was assuming threatening dimensions, and its evil results had been accentuated by the war. If the people were allowed to decide their own policy, it would be along the lines of popular control. The Association has

now two hundred branches in India. Sir Herbert Roberts, its President, took the chair at the meeting, and paid tribute to the splendid service of Indian troops in the war, but expressed regret that the Government had not taken special measures to restrict the drink traffic during the war. Other speakers were Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., Mr. Leif Jones, M.P., Sir William Collins, M.P., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Surgeon-General Evatt, Mrs. Caine, the Hon. Mrs. Eliot Yorke. A very pleasing incident of the gathering was the presentation to Mr. F. Grubb, secretary of the Association, and his wife, of an illuminated address, in recognition of splendid service rendered during twenty-five years.

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In a paper read before the Central Asian Society on May 30, Mr. Demetrius Boulger urged the necessity of railway communications through Syria and Mesopotamia to India. He criticized the policy of the British Governments in the past which has allowed Germany to make great progress eastwards, and advocated the adoption of the report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1872 in favour of an alternative route between the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and India. "The railway from the Levant, not from the Bosphorus," he declared, "is to be our lever, the master-key to the position in the Near and Middle East."

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Sir Paul Vinogradoff, speaking at the Lyceum Club on the Revolution in Russia, said that a great revolution was not so simple an undertaking as cooking an egg. No country could go through such an experience without suffering. Russia has had a severe operation, he added; the high temperature will go down, and the patient must be regarded as convalescent. He laid stress on the strong underlying community of interest and moral feeling between the British and Russian peoples. Sir Frederick Pollock advocated patience and trust, pointing out that when there was a revolution in England it took fifty years to carry through, and at times seemed in danger of failure. Mrs. Sonia Howe spoke of the strong common sense of the Russian peasant, and Miss Czaplicka regarded Professor Vinogradoff as typical of the people who will gain influence in the new era in Russia.

A. A. S.



## LONDON THEATRES

*Savoy Theatre*—"Humpty-Dumpty," by H. A. Vachell.

Mr. H. B. Irving at the Savoy Theatre has become one of London's great institutions. Whether as an Alsatian inn-keeper, or the Prince of Denmark in tragedy, or as a doctor or professor, we obtain from him a certain high level of interpretation which commands enthusiasm. And now we must needs admire him in the rôle of a barber. The playwright also is bold in his experiment. He entertains us with the vagaries in the fortunes of a socialist barber who becomes a lord, gets bored, returns to his shop, and finds that he is no lord after all; of a young idealist, who in his transparent honesty renounces his claim to the estate in favour of this supposed cousin, and loses his fiancée in the bargain; and of certain very human relations of the young John Delamothe, who are very upset by his idealism, and their consequent dependence on the generosity of the ex-barber.

Albert Mott began as a coiffeur in love with Chrissie Parkins of Swashcombe-on-Sea, and his dear mother, who adopted him when a baby, and he ends up in the same position. The interlude of Mayfair left no mark on him, nor the Mayfair girl, Nancy Delamothe, whose father, General the Hon. Henry Delamothe, was so impecunious that she must needs marry money. Some would say that this is unlikely in a barber; it is only natural for anyone who respects himself and his profession. We do not know, however, whether Mr. Vachell desired to go any farther than write a delightful comedy, with clever situations and some shrewd character-drawing.

Miss Hilda Trevelyan as the Swashcombe, and Miss Violet Campbell as the Mayfair girl were admirably contrasted. Mr. Barry Baxter as the idealist John Delamothe looked his part. Mr. Holman Clark was a rather *genial* villain; Miss Mary Jerrold as the barber's mother very effective.

Mr. H. B. Irving's "barber" was a bold experiment, for it was an exceedingly difficult rôle to play, and that, after all, is the aim and the test of the great actor.

## OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Justice Saiyid Sharf-ud-din, Puisne Judge of the Patna High Court, to be a member of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, in succession to Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameswar Singh, G.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.

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The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Saiyid Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., to be a Puisne Judge of the Patna High Court, in succession to Mr. Justice Saiyid Sharf-ud-din.

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The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. T. F. Dawson Miller, K.C., to be Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, in succession to Sir Edward Chamier, who will shortly retire from the appointment.

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The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed Sir Edward Chamier to be Legal Adviser and Solicitor to the Secretary of State at the India Office, in succession to Sir S. G. Sale, K.C.I.E., who will retire in the autumn.

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### INDIAN HONOURS LIST

#### KAISAR-I-HIND GOLD MEDAL

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following awards of the "Kaisar-i-Hind Medal for Public Services in India" of the First Class :

1. Mrs. Isabel Whitehead, wife of the Right Rev. Dr. Whitehead, D.D., Bishop of Madras.
2. Miss May Reed, in charge of the Leper Asylum, Chandagh, Pithoragarh, Almora District, United Provinces.
3. Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., V.D., Indian Civil Service (retired).
4. Seth Motilal Manekchand, Millowner, Bombay.
5. The Rev. James Hair Maclean, B.D., of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Chingleput District, Madras.
6. Dr. Behari Lal Dhingra, M.D., M.R.C.S., Chief Medical Office, Jind State.
7. Lieutenant-Colonel Kanta Prasad, Indian Medical Service (retired), of Rangoon, Burma.
8. The Rev. Arthur Ernest Brown, of the Wesleyan Mission, Bankura, and Superintendent of the Bankura Leper Asylum.
9. Captain Robert Henry Bott, M.B., F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service, Professor of Surgery, Medical College, Lahore, Punjab.
10. The Rev. William Emerslie Wilkie Brown, of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Jalna, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

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The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed: Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, barrister-at-law, to be a Member of the Council of India, in succession to Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Sir Prabhashankar Dalpatram Patani, K.C.I.E., in succession to Raja Daljit Singh, C.S.I., who has resigned his appointment on his acceptance of the post of Chief Minister in Kashmir. Mr. Chamberlain has also appointed Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Additional Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, to be a Member of the Council of India. There will therefore now be three Indian Members of the Council of India instead of two as heretofore.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

AUGUST 15, 1917

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## CH'IU CHIN: A CHINESE HEROINE\*

BY LIONEL GILES, M.A., D.LITT.

THE revolution that changed the face of China in 1911 was only the culminating wave of a movement which had grown steadily in volume for several years, and was heralded by a number of sporadic outbreaks the significance of which was not altogether apparent at the time. The real awakening of China may be said to date from the disastrous war with Japan in 1894, which was soon followed by territorial aggression on the part of the great European Powers. The Reform Edicts of Kuang Hsü seemed to open a door to the new aspirations of the Chinese people, but all hopes were dashed by the return of the Empress-Dowager to power. The "Boxer" explosion of 1900 was directed at first against the throne, and it was only by consummate craft on the part of the Manchu Government that it was turned into a war of extermination against the foreigner. When China emerged, broken and breathless, from the unequal fray, saddled with a crushing indemnity, bankrupt and discredited as a civilized nation, she realized the extent to which she had been hoodwinked by her rulers. The anti-foreign animus gradually died away, for the Chinese knew that the real enemy they had to reckon with was within their gates. It became the aim of every patriot to shake off the Manchu incubus

\* A paper read before the China Society at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Mrs. Archibald Little in the chair.

which had been the cause of their bitterest humiliation. The task, however, was one that might well appal the stoutest heart. In a land of great distances like China, the difficulty of accomplishing a successful revolution is immense. Popular discontent is like a flame that has to be assiduously tended and watched—fanned in one part of the country, controlled and restrained in another—until everything is ready for a simultaneous and overmastering conflagration. In the years following the return of the Manchu Court to Peking the political atmosphere was charged with electricity. As Victor Hugo says of France after the restoration of the Bourbons, "Un certain frisson révolutionnaire courait vaguement." Secret societies multiplied rapidly, but too often acted independently of one another; hence the isolated outbreaks that occurred were generally premature, and came to an untimely end for want of co-operation. The year 1907 brought forth several such uprisings, one of which, ineffectual though it was at the moment, is likely to find a permanent place in history, if only because it was engineered from start to finish by a woman.

Ch'iu Chin was the daughter of an official whose native place was Shaohsing in the province of Chekiang. This city is mentioned by Marco Polo under the name of Tanpiju: "When you leave Kinsay (the modern Hangchow) and travel a day's journey to the south-east, through a plenteous region, passing a succession of dwellings and charming gardens, you reach the city of Tanpiju, a great, rich and fine city, under Kinsay." Owing to its numerous canals it is sometimes styled, like Soochow, "the Venice of China." The surname Ch'iu means "autumn," and the personal name Chin "a lustrous gem." At a later period she took the sobriquet Ching-hsiung, which means "Vie-with-male," and she was also known as Chien-hu Nü-chieh, "Female Champion of the Mirror Lake." At the age of eighteen, Ch'iu Chin was married to a gentleman named Wang, and went with him to Peking, where she gave birth to a boy and a girl. Hers was not a temperament, however, that could

resign itself gladly to the placid joys of domestic life. During the Boxer crisis of 1900, when she was an eye-witness of the mournful events at Peking, she was heard to exclaim with a sigh: "We mortals must grapple with difficulties and dangers in order to show what stuff we are made of. How can people spend all their days amidst the petty worries of domestic concerns?" She had received the education of a scholar, wrote poetry, and held advanced views on the emancipation of women. In a popular Chinese account of her life, published some years later,\* we find the following résumé of a public lecture which she delivered on the subject of foot-binding:

"We women," she said, "have for thousands of years past been subjected to a system of repression, and at no time have we enjoyed the smallest measure of independence. Rigidly bound by the ancient rules prescribing the Three Obediences and the Four Virtues, we were unable to utter the faintest word of protest. Into this point, however, I will not enter at present. What I wish to say is this: we women, who have had our feet bound from early childhood, have suffered untold pain and misery, for which our parents showed no pity. Under this treatment our faces grew pinched and thin, and our muscles and bones were cramped and distorted. The consequence is that our bodies are weak and incapable of vigorous activity, and in everything we do we are obliged to lean on others. Being thus necessarily dependent on external aid, we find ourselves, after marriage, subjected to the domination of men, just as though we were their household slaves. All our energies are confined to the home, where we are occupied in cutting out clothes, cooking and preparing food, making tea and boiling rice, sprinkling and sweeping, waiting on our husbands, and handing them basin and towel. In any important business we are prevented from taking the least part. Should a guest arrive, we are obliged to make ourselves scarce and hide in our private apartments. We are not allowed to inquire deeply

\* Procured for me in Peking by my friend, Major W. Perceval Yetts.

into any subject, and should we venture to speak at any length in reply to some argument, we are told that our sex is volatile and shallow. My sisters, do you know where the fault lies that has brought us to this pass? It is all due to women's lack of energy and spirit. We ourselves drew back in the first instance, and by-and-by that came to be regarded as an immutable rule of conduct. Sisters, let us to-day investigate the causes which have led to this want of spirit and energy among women. May it not be because we insist on binding up our girls' feet at an early age, speaking of their 'three-inch golden lilies' and their 'captivating little steps'? May it not be, I say, that this process of foot-binding is what has sapped and destroyed all our energy and spirit? To-day my blood is up, and I want to stir your blood as well, my sisters, and rouse you to a sense of your degradation. All women should, in the first place, refuse to adorn themselves with paint and powder, or trick themselves out in seductive guise, realizing that every human being has his own natural countenance given to him by God. Secondly, you must never bind your feet again, nor utter nonsensical verses like:

Contending in beauty with their three-inch feet and slender bodies,  
light enough to flit over the waves,  
The gentle swaying of their willow waists reminding one of the flight  
of a swallow.

"Do not wrong your intelligence by thus dissipating your precious strength, but rather bewail the lot of those unhappy maidens who for thousands of years have been shedding tears of blood. In bringing forward this question of unbound feet, my sisters, I want you to realize that the result of having feet of the natural size will be to abolish the evils attendant on injured bones and muscles and an enfeebled constitution—surely a cause for unbounded rejoicing. I feel it my duty to lose no time in rooting out this vile custom amongst women. For where, in all the five great continents, will you find a single country that follows this Chinese practice of foot-binding? And yet we, who were born and brought up

in China, look upon it as the most civilized country in the world! If one day we succeed in wiping out this horrible blot on our civilization, our bodies will begin to grow stronger, and the steps we take in walking will become a pleasure instead of a pain. Having thus regained their natural energy, the whole sex will progress without difficulty, and an endless store of happiness will be built up for thousands of generations of women yet unborn. But if you shrink from this reform, and wish to retain the pretty sight of small feet beneath your petticoats, you will remain imprisoned to the end of the chapter in the seclusion of your inner apartments, quite devoid of any strength of character, and it will be impossible to manifest the native brilliancy of the female sex. I earnestly hope and trust that you, my sisters, will bring about a thorough reform of all the ancient abuses, rouse yourselves to act with resolution, and refuse to submit to the domination of man, asserting your own independent authority, and so ordering things that the status of women may rise daily higher, while their dependence on others grows less and less. Let there be thorough enlightenment on the subject of foot-binding, and progress in the matter of equal rights for men and women will surely follow."

That matrimony as it is understood in China should have proved irksome to such an ardent and self-reliant temperament is no matter for surprise. Husband and wife agreed to an amicable separation some two or three years after the Boxer rising, and Ch'iu Chin, having lost the whole of her capital in speculation, through misplaced confidence in an unworthy person, seems to have conceived the idea of educating herself on modern lines in order to be better equipped for the struggle of life. Accordingly, she raised some money by the sale of her hair ornaments and other jewellery and prepared to start for Tokyo, a centre to which Chinese students were then flocking in great numbers. An incident which occurred before she left Peking throws some light on her character as well as on her political sympathies. A member of the Reform Party of 1898, who had surrendered



himself to stand his trial for complicity in the measures of that memorable year, was languishing in the prison of the Board of Punishments, where, for want of funds to expedite the hearing of his case, it is probable that he might have remained indefinitely. On hearing of his plight, Ch'iu Chin sent a large portion of the sum which she had set aside for her own education to help him in his hour of need. With noble delicacy of feeling she enjoined on the messenger not to reveal the name of the donor, so that until the prisoner had been released, he was unaware to whom he was so deeply indebted.

Ch'iu Chin sailed for Japan towards the end of April, 1904. As one of her biographers puts it, she was "quite alone, and oppressed by a thousand anxieties." It was the first time she had left China; both the country and the people to which she was journeying were strange to her, and their language unintelligible. And it must be remembered that Chinese women at that date were only just beginning to throw off the age-long shackles of convention. To most Chinese eyes her enterprise must have appeared in the light of a grave impropriety. Truly, it was a great adventure on which this dauntless young woman of twenty-eight was embarking. When she arrived in Tokyo, sheer force of character soon brought her to the front. We find her a member of the debating club attached to the hostelry for Chinese students, training herself as a speaker, and, a little later on, forming a secret society with ten other ladies, having for its aim the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty. She also became acquainted with an ardent young reformer named Tao Ch'êng-chang (who was afterwards to write the most detailed and reliable account of her life) and several of his friends, who had already been engaged in sowing the seeds of revolution throughout the province of Chekiang. In the spring of 1905 our heroine's slender pittance was almost exhausted, and it became an urgent necessity for her to return to China in order to raise fresh funds for the continuance of her studies. Before she left, she had an important conversation

with Tao Ch'êng-chang, and begged for a letter of introduction to the leaders of the revolutionary party, so that she herself might join in the work. After some hesitation on his part she obtained what she wished, and in July she had her first interview with Hsü Hsi-lin, a man of fierce energy and fanatical temper, whose fortunes were thenceforward irretrievably linked with her own. Having been formally enrolled in the ranks of the Kuang-fu (Glorious Restoration) Society—a branch of the T'ung-mêng Hui, or Sworn Brotherhood, founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—she made a tour of South-east Chekiang, accompanied by her friend Tao, and visited various revolutionary leaders.

September saw her back again in Tokyo, and there she seems to have met Sun Yat-sen himself. A severe illness prostrated her for more than a month, but as soon as she was convalescent she entered the Jissen Jo Gakkō, a Training College for Women. Her studies, however, were soon to be cut short by an unexpected occurrence. The Manchu Government had got wind of the revolutionary plots being hatched in the Japanese capital, and at their request a number of stringent police regulations were put in force against the Chinese students. A storm of indignation immediately arose, and Ch'iu Chin, ever ready to fight against oppression, was active in organizing mass meetings at which she herself was one of the principal speakers. She was also the moving spirit in the formation of a league the members of which pledged themselves to return to China unless the obnoxious regulations were rescinded. After a time things quieted down, and the majority of the students yielded to the force of circumstances. But Ch'iu Chin's indomitable spirit refused to be coerced; she kept her word, and shook the dust of Japan off her feet for ever.

Two of her friends, Mr. Tao and another, met her on her return to Shanghai, and saw her off on the final stage of her journey home. Knowing her to be an accomplished scholar, they begged for some autograph composition as a memento, and Ch'iu Chin responded by copying out, before she left

Shanghai, a small volume containing the product of her muse—that is to say, 150 short pieces of poetry of various kinds. It is to this fortunate incident that we probably owe the preservation of her poems, for after her death the manuscript was printed and published. I have here a copy of the second edition, prepared in 1910, which was sent to me by an anonymous donor in that year. It bears the title, "The Literary Remains of the Heroine Ch'iu," and prefixed to it is the biography by Tao Ch'êng-chang already mentioned, with a postscript containing further details by Mr. Kung. A large proportion of these poems are inspired by flowers and other objects of Nature, and their delicate fragrance would hardly survive translation into English. Others are addressed to various friends, notably the lady Hsü Tzū-hua, a poetess like herself, of whom we shall hear more presently. Only a few are political, or concerned with current events, as, for example, the stirring lines in which she celebrates the naval victory of Japan over Russia. I must content myself with offering you a single specimen, turned as literally as possible into prose. It is the last in the book, written in irregular metre after the fashion of an ode, and it illustrates Ch'iu Chin's ardent aspirations for the full emancipation of her sex.

#### ON THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

We of the female sex are in love with liberty:

Let us pledge our resolve to win liberty in a bumper of wine!

By the dispensation of Nature, men and women are endowed with equal rights:

How can we be content to abide in our inferior position?

With all our energy we must raise ourselves up, and wash away, once for all, the shame and degradation of the past.

If only men will acquiesce in our becoming their comrades,

They shall see our white hands toiling in the great task of winning back our beloved country.

Full of dishonour is the ancient custom

By which women are allotted to their respective mates like cattle.

Now that the light of dawn is visible, ushering in a new era of civilization,

Man's claim to stand alone, usurping the first place,

And to hold the other sex in slavish subjection, must be utterly abolished.

Wisdom, understanding, mental culture—all will come by dint of training and practice.

O my heroic countrywomen, shoulder your responsibilities!

I am confident that you will not flinch from the task that awaits you.

These verses—from which it must be confessed that most of the beauty and power have evaporated in my feeble translation—rang like a trumpet blast through the literary and political world of China at a time when the land was still groaning under the humiliation of a foreign yoke. The veiled allusion to the coming revolution, and the eagerness of Chinese women to take their share in that struggle, shows the direction in which Ch'iu Chin's thoughts were tending. In truth, she soon realized that the winning of political liberty was the necessary preliminary to sex emancipation.

In the meantime, she had her own living to make. In February, 1906, she was recommended for the post of teacher to a girls' school at Nanzin, in the extreme north of Chekiang, but was rejected in favour of another applicant, Madame Hsü Tzŭ-hua. Ch'iu Chin was much annoyed, but curiosity seems to have impelled her to call on her successful rival; no sooner had they met than each confessed herself vanquished, and their sole regret was that their meeting had been delayed so long. Madame Hsü insisted on keeping her new friend with her to share the work of the school, and for the next six months they lived together in the closest intimacy. But the fever of revolution was already in Ch'iu Chin's blood, and the drudgery of a school was unsuited to her restless and ambitious temper. She paid frequent visits to Shanghai, helped in the foundation of a new Chinese College there, and spared herself no exertion in working for its success. She also opened a branch of the Kuang-fu Secret Society at premises in North Szechuen Road, and gradually formed a large circle of acquaintance among the revolutionary leaders, who were not slow to recognize her transcendent abilities as well as the flame of disinterested patriotism which burned within her. Hsü Hsi-lin was now an expectant official at Anking, where he had won the complete confidence of the Manchu Governor Ên-ming. From this coign of vantage he was able to act as a spy in the interests of the revolutionary party, and was in constant communication with Ch'iu Chin and another fellow-towns-

man named Ch'ên Po-p'ing. The latter was a somewhat younger man, of reckless bravery, who acted as a loyal henchman to Hsü Hsi-lin, and appears to have been especially devoted to our heroine. In conjunction with him and a few others she hired a house in Hongkew for the manufacture of bombs. Doubtless owing to their inexperience in the handling of dynamite, an explosion took place one day, which might have had the most serious consequences; as it was, Ch'ên was injured in the eye and Ch'iu Chin in the arm, and both narrowly escaped being arrested by the police.

Checked in this direction, her activities soon found a new outlet. With the help of her friend Hsü Tzū-hua, she started the *Chung Kuo Nü Pao*, or Chinese women's journal, a small monthly magazine published at 91, North Szechuen Road. Through the kindness of Mr. Ch'ên Kuo-ch'üan of Shanghai, a copy of the second number of this interesting periodical has come into my hands, and I think I cannot do better than give you a brief conspectus of its contents. First comes a portrait of the editor—Ch'iu Chin herself—unfortunately a poor photograph, which, however, gives some idea of her personal appearance. Then, after the table of contents, comes a general statement of the aims and scope of the new publication. The first three articles are entitled "Notes on Moral Philosophy," "Female Education," and "A Happy New Year" (China New Year, 1907, had fallen twelve days before the number went to press). After this follows the second instalment of an article, "Hints on Nursing," translated from the English by Ch'iu Chin. This occupies ten pages, and deals with the temperature and ventilation of the sick-room, invalid diet, bed-sores, sleep, and the use of the clinical thermometer. We learn from one of her biographers that Ch'iu Chin was an omnivorous reader, and here we have further proof of the wide range of her interests and her remarkable appetite for knowledge. Incidentally, it appears that she had somehow acquired a very considerable knowledge of the English language. Next we have the second chapter of a story called "The Independent

Maiden," by a lady writer. This is followed by two collections of poetry—"Jade Fragments" and "Desolate Mountains"—including four poems by our heroine; and there are also the verses quoted above, on Women's Rights, set to music. The last section is devoted to the cause of female education. It includes an essay urging the necessity of organization and mutual co-operation amongst women, notes on the practical results that had already been achieved, and items of news from various quarters. On the whole, this journalistic venture must be pronounced of high literary quality. It compares favourably with the average woman's paper in this country, and the only fault that can be found with it is that it was somewhat too ambitious in its aim. Very few Chinese women at that date can have been sufficiently educated to appreciate the intellectual fare that was set before them, and there is reason to believe that most of the subscribers belonged to the other sex.

Clouds were now gathering apace on the political horizon, and suddenly, in the winter of 1906, the storm burst. An armed uprising took place in Kiangsi, and a meeting was hurriedly convened at Shaohsing in order to debate the question of sending military aid. But it was already too late. No other province showed any sign of moving, and the insurrection fizzled out after the vain sacrifice of many gallant lives. Ch'iu Chin had attended the conference and charged herself with the direction of affairs in Chekiang. She immediately embarked on the perilous enterprise of touring through the interior of the province in order to organize a sympathetic revolt. With the exception of the northern part, Chekiang is almost wholly mountainous, and there are even now no railways. The exhausting nature of travel under such conditions can well be imagined. After a short stay at Kinhwa, Ch'iu Chin returned to Shaohsing, and there she first heard the bad news from Kiangsi—the execution of many of her personal friends, the arrest and imprisonment of others. All hope of co-operation was thus destroyed. It was a staggering blow, but Chin's ardour was only height-

ened by misfortune. It was now, so we are told, amid the wreck of her hopes, that she secretly determined to reanimate the drooping spirits of her party and to bring about a revolution single-handed. Her opportunity soon came. The Ta-t'ung College of Physical Culture at Shaohsing was in need of a head, and Ch'iu Chin's prestige and ability marked her out as the fittest incumbent. Amazing as it may seem to those who knew what China was only twenty years ago, this young woman was publicly appointed Principal, and the Prefect himself, accompanied by the two district magistrates, came in person to the College in order to present her with a complimentary address. This Prefect, Kuei-fu by name, who was a Manchu, evidently had no inkling of the propaganda which was being carried on under his very nose, nor could he have suspected that the seemingly innocent institution which he was visiting had already become the centre and focus of a dangerous agitation.

Little more than four months of life now remained to Ch'iu Chin, but they were filled with feverish activity. In this short time she reorganized the Kuang-fu Society from top to bottom, making frequent journeys between Shaohsing, Hangchow, and Shanghai, and turning her attention especially to the army and to the student population in those centres.

Mr. Ch'ên Ch'ü-ping has preserved for us an interesting account of her last two meetings with Madame Hsü, which may be given in his own words: "On March 17, 1907, the two friends made an excursion up the Phoenix Hill at Hangchow, where they mourned together in the Old Pavilion of the Southern Sung, shedding tears as they gazed down upon the Western Lake. Chin then proceeded to make a secret survey of the roads and paths leading in and out of the city, and drew a map of the country for military use, in order that she might be prepared for eventualities. Madame Hsü, seeing that Chin was much concerned because the moment for action had not yet arrived, rallied her jocularly on the subject, and Chin listened in silence. Then they went

together to visit Yo Fei's tomb,\* which they gazed upon with reverence, pacing up and down until it grew dark, and still unable to tear themselves away.

"Madame Hsü chaffed her friend again, saying: 'I suppose you would like to be buried in this spot when you die?' Chin replied with a sigh: 'To have the privilege of being buried here would be too much happiness.' 'If you die,' said Madame Hsü, 'I will see to your funeral. But it might happen that I should die first. Will you in that case be able to have me buried here?' To which Chin laughingly replied: 'If I find that it can be done cheaply, I will.' So they bade each other farewell and separated. About three months later, after the revolutionaries at Shaohsing had had their posts allotted to them, Chin went to Shanghai in order to make the final arrangements with Hsü Hsi-lin and the other leaders, and took Shihmen (where Hsü Tzū-hua lived) on her way. In the middle of the night she knocked at the door of her friend's house, and on being admitted, she announced that the rising was about to take place, but that she was in difficulties owing to the exhaustion of her funds. Madame Hsü immediately turned out her jewel-case and gave her the contents, whereat Chin was very grateful, and taking two kingfisher bracelets off her arms, she handed them to Hsü Tzū-hua, saying: 'As one never knows what may happen, I should like you to have these as a memento of bygone days.' And again, when about to resume her journey, she said to her friend: 'Of course I can trust you to keep the promise that you gave me at Yo Fei's grave?' Madame Hsü replied sadly: 'If it should ever come to that, my dearest, you may rest assured that I will find a way to meet your wishes.' Thus, with gloomy forebodings, they parted."

Meanwhile, a second tour through Chekiang had satisfied

\* Yo Fei (A.D. 1103-1141) was a brilliant General who distinguished himself under the Southern Sung Dynasty by his successes against the Chin Tartars, then masters of the whole of North China. Having incurred the enmity of the traitorous Minister, Ch'in Kuei, who had sold himself to the Tartars, he was arrested and thrown into prison, where shortly afterwards he was officially reported to have "died."



Ch'iu Chin that Kinhwa and several neighbouring towns were ripe for an upheaval, and the main difficulty now was to restrain the eagerness of the revolutionaries, so that the outbreaks in different parts of the province might be as far as possible simultaneous. It was planned, however, that the main body of insurgents at Shaohsing should wait until the Manchu troops in Hangchow had sallied forth against Kinhwa and Chuchow, in order to make a surprise attack on Hangchow when denuded of its defenders. It was also arranged that a party of soldiers and students should co-operate with them from within the city. In case of failure, the army was to march back, effect a junction with the Kinhwa contingent, and eventually strike a blow at the important city of Anking on the Yangtse. The date of the rising was fixed for July 19, but, as usual in such cases where there is so much gunpowder lying about, the explosion was premature. It was hastened by the action of one of the leaders, who in the middle of June began hastily concentrating his troops between Tungyang and Chenghsien, and was foolish enough to unfurl the revolutionary standard. This precipitated the crisis. On July 1, the insurrection broke out at Wuyi, not far from Kinhwa, where further outbreaks occurred two days later. Ch'iu Chin immediately despatched Ch'ên Po-p'ing to Anking to apprise Hsü Hsi-lin of the state of affairs. He, fearing the consequences of delay, seized his opportunity and slew Ên-ming, the Governor, on July 6.

It is hard to see how this crime can be justified, even as a stroke of policy. Its immediate effect was the arrest and execution of Hsü Hsi-lin and Ch'ên Po-p'ing, both of whose lives might have proved most useful at this juncture. It alienated a number of moderate men, who, though detesting Manchu rule, were unable to reconcile themselves to methods of assassination. Worst of all, it succeeded in thoroughly alarming the Government and opening its eyes to the existence of a formidable and widespread conspiracy. A strict search was at once instituted for all members of revolutionary clubs, and the Ta-t'ung College fell under suspicion. It

appears that secret information, incriminating Ch'iu Chin, was given to the Prefect of Shaohsing, Kuei-fu, by a member of the local gentry, Hu Tao-nan, who had previously had a passage of arms with our heroine in which he had come off second best. Madame Hsü speaks of "the unguarded way in which she would make cutting remarks" as having led to her death. Anyhow, the affront was never forgiven, and her accuser chose this dastardly method of paying off old scores. Kuei-fu lost no time in taking action. He crossed over to Hangchow by night and made a personal report on the situation to the Governor, Chang Tsêng-yang, after which he returned to Shaohsing.

It was only on July 9 that Ch'iu Chin herself heard of the abortive attempt at Anking, and it is recorded that she sat down in her room and wept. For the first time her iron nerve seemed to be shaken. There can be little doubt that she was privy to Hsü Hsi-lin's intentions; but, whether or no she condoned political assassination in general as a means for securing national liberty, she must have realized that in this instance it was a tragic blunder, likely to prove fatal to the cause which she had at heart. Her native resolution, however, soon reasserted itself. A council of war was held by the students in Shaohsing on the 10th, at which it was proposed to rise at once, kill the Prefect, and get possession of the town. This desperate scheme would have rendered impossible the attack on Hangchow, already fixed for the 19th, and Chin preferred to take the risk of waiting, in order to carry out her original plan. On the 12th, at daybreak, some students arrived with a secret missive from Hangchow, in which it was stated that the Manchu troops were already in motion, and that some counter-stroke must be decided on at once. Another mass meeting of the students was convened in the Ta-t'ung College building, but in the end no decision was arrived at, and a large number of them, abandoning the cause, went back to their homes. The next day, early in the afternoon, a body of scouts returned with the report that a Manchu regiment was marching on Shaohsing.

Chin sent them out again to reconnoitre, and they brought back the news that the enemy had crossed over to the east bank of the river. This time she saw that the news was only too true, and shortly afterwards the soldiers had entered the city. The students held a last hurried meeting, and all urged Chin to make her escape, but she made no reply. When the Manchus arrived in front of the College they did not dare to force an entry immediately. There were still some dozen or more students remaining on the premises. Of these, a few got out by the back door and escaped by swimming across the canal, while the others rushed out of the front door and faced the enemy with weapons in their hands. The Manchu soldiers were taken by surprise, and a number of them were killed or wounded by the students, two of whom were also slain. Chin remained sitting in an inner apartment, and was taken prisoner, together with six others, whose names have been recorded by T'ao Ch'êng-chang. The next day, when brought before the district magistrate, she steadfastly refused to utter a word for fear of implicating her associates, but only traced a single line of poetry: "*Ch'iu yü ch'iu fêng ch'ou sha jên*" ("Autumn rain and autumn wind fill the heart with melancholy sore").\* Sentence was pronounced, and on the morning of July 15, at daybreak, she was executed near the Pavilion at Shaohsing. It is said that a rosy cloud was floating overhead at the time, and a chilly north wind blowing. The executioners as well as the onlookers were all shuddering with emotion, but Ch'iu Chin herself went tranquilly to her doom, and even when her head lay severed from the trunk the expression of her face still remained unaltered.

The news of Ch'iu Chin's martyrdom was received with an outburst of grief, mingled with horror, not only by her friends, but by all who believed in the cause for which her life had been sacrificed. Public opinion was stirred to its depths, and thousands of elegies bewailing her fate were

\* This contains a play on her surname Ch'iu, which, as I have said, means "autumn."

circulated in all parts of China. Perhaps the most beautiful and pathetic of these was composed by Madame Hsü Tzū-hua, after she had recovered from the illness caused by the shock of her friend's death. I regret that I have not time to give it in full, and must content myself with quoting a few extracts:

"Alas, Hsüan-ch'ing! \* All too great was thy love of glory, and now calamity has overtaken thee.

Many indeed were those who admired and loved thee, but many, too, regarded thee with jealousy and spite.

The calumnies of slanderous tongues have brought thee to thy lamentable doom.

It is the nature of the enlightened to be full of ardent zeal, of the stupid and obstinate to be full of slander.

In what family will a girl again bring herself to seek education?

In what household will a wife again be willing to become a leader of men?

\* \* \* \* \*

Alas, Hsüan-ch'ing! 'Twas only last year, in the second month of spring, that I first came to know thee,

With thy pointed sallies in conversation, thy lively wit which always found its way home,

Thy heroism and sense of duty, thy lofty indomitable spirit,

Thy melancholy songs, thy sword-play, thy conviviality, thy skill in composition.

Once, in turning out thy travelling trunks, I espied a copy of thy writings—Works full of zeal for humanity, noble sentiments, ardent enthusiasm, and deep-seated emotion—

And lo! I was overcome with an inarticulate yearning of sympathy over thy talents and aspirations, which proclaimed thee a heroine among women.

\* \* \* \* \*

Alas, Hsüan-ch'ing! 'Tis but a little while since I parted from thee, and the sound of thy voice is with me still, thy smiling face is still in my mind's eye.

Never shall I see thee more! . . . How can I restrain my grief?

Who will gather up thy jade-like bones? Who will prepare thy fragrant tomb?

Who will call back thy wandering spirit? Who will demand justice for thy grievous wrong?

Man's life on earth may only be one great dream,

But if it be an evil dream like this, the pain that wrings my breast is but increased.

Alas, Hsüan-ch'ing! the wheel comes round full circle, bringing with it success and failure, fulness and decay;

To escape death there is no other way than never to have been born.

Truly, thou hast passed away before me, but neither am I immortal.

Sooner or later I must rejoin thee.

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\* Ch'iu Chin's literary style.

If my tears fall fast like rain, it is only that thinking of the days gone by,  
the bond of our common studies, the intimacy of our friendship,  
Makes my heart swell with emotion. . . . How can I ever forget those  
things?

Clever as thou wert in life, after death thou surely hast an angel's intelligence.

O spirit of Ch'iu Chin! come back to me and ease my aching heart."

None of Chin's relatives had the courage to come forward and claim her body, which accordingly lay exposed in the Pavilion until a charitable institution provided a coffin and buried her on the adjacent hill. But her devoted friend, mindful of her promise, in spite of the danger determined that she should have a more worthy resting-place. One night in January, 1908, she made a secret journey to the spot, had the coffin disinterred, and brought it back with her to the Western Lake near Hangchow, where she and another great friend of the dead woman's, Wu Chih-ying, had bought a piece of land alongside the tomb of the Sung Dynasty hero, Yo Fei. Here she was buried in state, and shortly afterwards a society was formed with the express object of carrying on her life-work. But in the autumn the Manchu authorities caused the tomb to be levelled to the ground, and ordered Chin's brother to remove the coffin to Shaohsing. In 1909 her husband died, whereupon her son, then a boy of about fourteen, came all the way from Hunan and transported his mother's remains back to that province. Two years later came the dawn of the new era, which she had striven for so passionately, but had not lived to see, heralded by the guns at Wuchang. It was felt that a national memorial was the only fitting tribute to one who had worked and suffered so heroically for the nation's cause, and so in the summer of 1912 she was finally laid to rest by the Western Lake, the funeral being attended by a large concourse of people. On the site of the old grave, near the Hsi-ling Bridge, a pavilion was erected, bearing the name *Fêng Yü T'ing* (Wind and Rain Pavilion), which may be seen by anyone who has occasion to visit that lovely spot. The commemorative inscription on her tomb was composed by Hsü Tzŭ-hua and written in calligraphic style for the engraver

by Wu Chih-ying. A facsimile has been published in book form, and from this, sent to me with several other documents by Mr. Ch'ên Kuo-ch'üan, I have drawn many details of her career. Her character is there summed up in a few sentences which will form an appropriate close to this brief biographical sketch: "In tracing the acts of her life, if we find that her lack of conventionality in small matters, her independent attitude and impatience of authority, her delight in wine and her fondness for sword-play, cannot be made to square exactly with rigid canons of conduct, yet on the other hand her inmost nature was upright and conscientious in the extreme. . . . Although she loved to be independent, it is certain that she never, from first to last, overstepped the bounds of morality and virtue. . . . This inscription is engraved on her tomb as a memorial for after generations, to let them know that the spilling of patriotic blood on hollow pretexts did not cease with the Southern Sung period. Then, reflecting on her noble example, as they pace to and fro with upraised or downcast head, they will be moved to shed hot tears, and find it hard to tear themselves away; thus may her tomb stand imperishable even as the tomb of the princely Yo Fei."

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

IN her opening remarks, the CHAIRMAN (MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE) said that the paper was of particular interest at the present moment, when women were winning their spurs, so to speak, in this country. She hoped that the audience would regard Dr. Giles's heroine as an example of the extraordinary courage and ability of Chinese girls, which had astounded her again and again. Once, at a gathering of the fashionable world at Soochow, she saw a poorly-dressed girl get up and move the audience as none of the other speakers had moved it, and enforce her views upon them with the greatest ease. Some of the audience might also remember that great gathering at Shanghai when speech after speech was made after the first revolution. Nothing went really home to the hearts of those present until a young girl came forward. Afterwards some missionary spoke to her, and asked her what she was going to do next, what were her ideas for the future—for they had grave anxieties for her—and she answered quietly: "I don't know, except that I feel I must go to Japan to complete my education." Mrs. Little presumed that the great bulk of the audience had been to China, and felt that affection for the Chinese which no other nation seemed to evoke in like measure. Even the Italians, who stood next in her regard, had not inspired in her the same degree of love and respect as the Chinese, and that although she had more than once been stoned and hustled by a Chinese mob. Therefore she rejoiced to see that the great Chinese people had joined the ranks of those who were fighting for the right against the united powers of evil, and had broken off relations with Germany.

At the request of the Chairman to initiate the discussion, Dr. TIMOTHY RICHARD said he thought the best person to speak on the subject before them was the Chairman herself, for she had had a great deal to do with the formation of the Anti-Footbinding Society, and it would be noticed that it was indicated at the beginning of the interesting paper which they had heard that Ch'iu Chin wished ultimately to free the women from the cruel bondage in which their feet had been held for thousands of years.

Mr. Y. H. YAO said that during the events which led to the death of Ch'iu Chin he was spending his summer vacation at his home in Shaohsing. One of the heroine's purposes, he pointed out, was to establish military schools and colleges to supply the revolutionist army. It was unfortunate that the outbreak was premature, and that Ch'iu Chin was unprepared, so that she became a victim herself. If she had lived during the Revolution of 1911 she might have earned much glory in the history of the movement.

Mr. L. Y. CHEN, who had met Ch'iu Chin, was also prevailed upon to say a few words. He came from Kiangsu, he said, and he met Madame Ch'iu once at the house of Madame Hsü Hsi-lin. He was only a little boy at the time, so he could not remember much about the heroine, except that she was a very handsome woman. Most people thought that as she was a revolutionary, she could not be very affectionate, but in reality she was extremely tender-hearted and very fond of children. He remembered how kindly she talked to him and his little brother at the time.

Mr. G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE said that what he had to say was in the nature of a question. Could it be said that in China, as in other Eastern countries, the subjection of women was almost a modern development? It was stated that other Oriental peoples placed restraints upon their women as a measure of precaution against outside elements of a rough character. Perhaps the character of Ch'iu Chin had various parallels in the old history of China before the days of the segregated ladies whose small feet brought so much misery. Another point that struck him was how much this heroine was handicapped by the utter lack of railway communication. Let them hope that that disability would not stand in the way of future development, and that China would reach that position which she certainly ought to have amongst the civilized nations of the world. (Applause.)

Mrs. LITTLE said, in reply to the last speaker, that the custom of footbinding was generally thought to be about a thousand years old; that being so, it was clear that Chinese women had not enjoyed much liberty for a very long period. But whether the custom originally started as a measure of precaution she did not know; she had never heard anyone in China give that explanation. As the binding of women's feet prevented their getting about, it necessarily affected their intellectual capacity; therefore the narrowing of women's intelligence in China was not a recent growth, but at least a thousand years old.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Giles, which was carried by acclamation.

Sir WALTER HILLIER remarked that the Chairman had invited them to give some experiences of their friendships with Chinese ladies. He was one of the old stagers in China, but he had never had the opportunity of meeting with any Chinese ladies, for, as Ch'iu Chin said, they always went into the back room on the arrival



of visitors. Being an official, he had also never had the opportunity of hearing anyone talk about revolutions; but Mrs. Little, on the other hand, had mixed with these revolutionary people. She was asking if any of them could say anything about other celebrated women in China. Well, there was a book that they all knew—"Lieh Nü Chuan," biographies of distinguished ladies in China—and when that book came to be brought up to date he felt sure that it would include an account of the work of Mrs. Little, who had done so much towards removing the evil of footbinding. The speaker proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Little for presiding, and this was carried amid applause.

## RESOURCES OF JAPAN IN THEIR RELATION TO BRITISH COMMERCE AFTER THE WAR

BY K. YAMASAKI

UNTIL quite recent times, Japan has not been very well known to people at large in the countries of the West. She was described by such expressions as the Land of Cherry Blossom, or the Land of Madame Butterfly.

Some years ago, a Japanese travelling in Europe was asked whether he was a Chinese. The Japanese politely replied: "No, I am a Japanese." The response he received was: "Then you are a Chinese after all, aren't you?"

The beautiful scenery of Japan—her snow-clad mountains and silver streams, her vast rice-fields and evergreen pine-woods—are constantly alluded to by foreign tourists, but her industry and commerce have been only studied by those specially interested.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, under the terms of which Japan has been fighting in the Far East in the course of the present gigantic struggle, was concluded in the year 1902, and ever since she has figured conspicuously in the eyes of English statesmen. However, I am afraid that English merchants and manufacturers have not studied industrial and commercial development in Japan so much as could be desired.

In feudal times, industrial and commercial pursuits were not considered so honourable as the military profession in Japan. When business men met military men in the street, they had

to give way to the latter. If they offended soldiery by their impolite behaviour, they would do so at the risk of their lives. Such was the social position which the commercial class enjoyed in relation to the military class. It was only after the time of the Reformation, brought about by a bold stroke of the late illustrious Emperor Meiji, that the distinction between the various social classes was totally abolished. Nowadays, highly educated young men of good family rather take up a commercial career than enter upon Government work. Commercial and technical schools exist all over the country, and there is a tendency for business men to take the lead in the nation's progress.

Japan, it may be recalled, was opened up to international intercourse in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was an American Commodore who first visited Japan and induced the Japanese Government, then under the Tokugawa family, to open her ports to foreign trade. When the American fleet appeared off the harbour of Uraga, the port authorities reported on the mysterious visit of "huge black ships manned by a red-haired crew," and the whole nation, which was in happy and peaceful slumber, was rudely awakened to reality. The first English Envoy sent to Japan was Sir Harry Parkes, who was responsible for the conclusion of the first Commercial Treaty between England and Japan. Since the Meiji Reformation in 1868, Japanese industrial resources have rapidly developed. Englishmen have contributed greatly to the progress of Japan, and we are grateful for the kind assistance which this country has given to us. The railway between Tokio and Yokohama for a length of eighteen miles was constructed in 1872, this being the first railway built in Japan. I was told by my grandmother that when she had her first ride in a train, she felt as if she had encountered a thunderstorm and earthquake all at once, and she never ventured again to travel by train. At the present time there are more than 7,000 miles of railway in Japan. The Japanese mercantile marine has been very much increased in recent years. In 1915, the total gross tonnage of her commercial fleet was

over 1,600,000 tons. It is very gratifying to note that with the development of Japanese industrial resources and the improved facilities of communication, Japan's trade with Great Britain, France, Russia, and other friendly countries has shown a great increase. However, the present war has considerably disturbed international commerce. While the Allies are putting forth their utmost exertions to bring this war to a victorious issue, it is incumbent upon us to study the economic resources of each allied country in their relation to international trade after the war.

Japan is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The total area of her territory is about 259,000 square miles, including Formosa, Korea, and Saghalien; and her population was about seventy-seven millions in 1916, the average population to the square mile in Japan proper being about 350. It may be asserted that her large population is an important asset of Japan's industry. Being a mountainous country, only twenty per cent. of the total area of Japan proper is under cultivation; yet those engaged in agriculture constitute sixty per cent. of the total population. How important a rôle the peasantry is still playing in Japanese economic and social life is demonstrated by the step taken by the Government the year before last, when the price of rice, one of the principal agricultural products of Japan, fell on account of the good harvest. The Government bought the greater part of the stock of rice on the market in order to raise its price. This measure, though it may appear rather curious to you, had in view the lessening of possible suffering on the part of the agricultural class owing to the fall in the price of rice. Besides rice, which is the principal diet of the Japanese people, the chief agricultural products are raw silk and tea, most of which is exported to America. Raw silk and tea are chiefly produced by the labour of women of agricultural families. I am inclined to think that they take a very meagre interest in the suffrage question.

As to Japan's mineral resources, Japan is the second largest copper-producing country in the world. The total production

of copper in 1914 was valued at about four million pounds sterling, and its export in the same year nearly three million pounds sterling. Japan is supplying this country and her other allies with a large amount of copper, which is indispensable for the manufacture of munitions. Coal is also abundant in Japan. We now supply India and Australia with a certain amount of coal. Anyone who has visited Japan may remember that at a port at which European and American liners call in order to fill their bunkers, working people stand close together in a line on the gangway of a ship, passing along baskets of coal with mechanical precision and rapidity. Their faces are all grimed with coal-dust, but one is surprised to observe some *women* participating in this hard work with as much ease as men. The production of gold was fairly large until recent times. Before the country was opened up for international intercourse gold had been abundant as compared with silver, and the proportion of gold to silver in value was something like ten to one, while the international ratio then prevailing between the two metals was sixteen to one. When Japan was thrown open to international trade, a great amount of gold flowed out of the country on account of the difference in the ratio, entailing a great loss to the nation.

Now we come to the industrial resources of Japan. It is significant that Japan is rapidly changing from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation. Although domestic industry is still in vogue in various branches of manufacture in Japan, many modern factories have recently been built and extended. Silk and cotton manufacture is the principal industry of Japan. As regards cotton manufacture, the statistics show that the average number of spindles working daily in Japanese cotton mills in 1914 was about 2,400,000, and some factories are admirably equipped for looking after the welfare and comfort of their employees. Woollen manufacture was not carried on before on any considerable scale, but the war has given an impetus to this industry, and Japanese woollen factories are executing orders from the Russian Government. As to the production of iron and steel, there is a Government iron-works,

and besides there are others in private hands. As Japan lacks rich iron mines, she imports iron ore chiefly from China. Ship-building is very flourishing in Japan at present. The total tonnage now under construction is estimated at 300,000 tons.

After thus giving a short survey of the agricultural and industrial resources of Japan, let me speak briefly on the subject of her financial condition. In 1915, the total revenue of the Japanese Government amounted to about £62,300,000, and its total expenditure was about £61,700,000. After the Manchurian campaign in 1905-1906, Japan's external loans reached the high total of £152,000,000, but this debt was reduced to £142,000,000 in 1916. I am happy to say that quite recently Japan lent about £12,000,000 to Russia to enable her to cover the payment for war materials ordered in Japan. The Japanese Government also bought British Treasury Bills to the amount of £10,000,000 in America to help ameliorate the Anglo-American exchange, and in December last year a British loan for ten million pounds was raised in Japan most successfully.

Now I come to the subject of trade between the United Kingdom and Japan. This country used to export to Japan far more than it imported from Japan. In 1913, the total exports to Japan amounted to nearly £15,000,000, while imports from Japan were only about £4,000,000. The principal exports to Japan were ships, iron and steel, machinery, sulphate of ammonia, woollen, worsted and cotton manufactures; and the chief imports from Japan were silk manufactures, straw and hemp braids, which are the materials for ladies' hats, chemical products, buttons and studs. Thus you will see that Japan has been a very good customer of English manufacturers. Since the beginning of the war the exports of this country to Japan have greatly decreased, owing to the English factories having devoted themselves to the production of war materials, and a great number of articles for export being on the prohibition list. On the other hand, the imports to this country from Japan have increased considerably, partly because, since the beginning of the war,

Japan has been supplying to this country certain materials used in the manufacture of munitions, foodstuffs, and other necessities, and partly because this country has been importing from Japan goods which Germany used to send here before the war. The exports from the United Kingdom to Japan in 1915 were valued at about £5,000,000, while the imports to this country from Japan in the same year were about £9,000,000, the balance of trade between the two countries being thus reversed.

The principal commodities exported from this country to Japan in 1915 were iron and steel, machinery and cotton manufactures; and the chief articles imported to this country from Japan in 1915 were silk manufactures, copper, vegetable-oil, straw and hemp braids, dried peas and rice.

It may safely be asserted that the trade between the United Kingdom and Japan during the last two years has been in an abnormal state. How long this war will last no one can possibly tell, but when the world again enters upon a peaceful existence, international trade relations will be flung into the melting-pot. As to Anglo-Japanese trade, to a certain extent it will return to pre-war conditions, but after the war new and powerful elements will be at work. After the conclusion of peace, Japan's demand for highly finished articles such as machines, electrical apparatus, iron and steel manufactures, cotton and woollens of high grade and chemical products will certainly receive a stimulus. German merchants used to be the unscrupulous competitors of English merchants in the Japanese market before the war. I trust that in future no Japanese will buy German goods, and English manufacturers will find Japan a very attractive market for their finished products. In the same way, I hope that a greater amount of Japanese goods than before will be supplied to the English market hitherto flooded with German and Austrian goods. It is highly advisable that you should further develop various *key* industries within the British Empire, if not within the United Kingdom. With this object in view, you might perhaps adopt some form of Protection. How-

ever, it is also highly advisable to encourage trade between the Allies for their mutual benefit after the war. As regards trade relations between Japan and the British Empire, it is gratifying to note signs of an increase of trade between Japan on the one hand and India and Australia on the other. We must see to it that after the war German trade shall never revive in Japan, nor in the United Kingdom, nor in the British Dominions and Colonies, so that commercial relations between Japan and the British Empire may become closer, *unless* undue obstructions are placed on the road. China is one of the greatest commercial markets in the world. Japan has been accused of encroaching upon British trade interests in China. But, in my belief, the accusation is absolutely devoid of foundation. Lancashire will continue to supply China with cotton goods of high grade, only a comparatively small quantity of cotton of coarse grade being shipped from Japan to China; and above all, I hope that friendly feeling will continue to prevail between English and Japanese merchants in China, in order that they may advance hand in hand, united in the task of developing the vast resources of China, most of which are remain dormant.

The cordial sentiments and common interests consecrated by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance are still more firmly strengthened by the joint task which Great Britain and Japan are carrying out in penalizing the enemy of human progress and human welfare, and it is our earnest desire that the trade between the two countries may receive a fresh stimulus after the war, in order to enable England and Japan to contribute yet further to international good fellowship and civilization.



## THE CHINESE PUZZLE

BY E. H. PARKER

THE portraits of the three individuals chiefly concerned in the recent transformation scene at Peking were given in the January number of this Review, and perhaps more portraits would illustrate the present irresponsible gossip were it not that times are hard, money tight, and interest in non-war subjects flaccid. Meanwhile, one respected figure-head has gone under, and, as often happens in political scimmages, this victim is an innocent scapegoat, being none other than the artless but impeccably honest President Li Yüan-hung, who, however, is probably only too glad to be at last well out of *cette galère*. Submarines and revolutions all along the line, both by land and by sea, have made letter and newspaper connections with China so delayed and so precarious that it is difficult for a mere European in these parts to piece happenings together in intelligible form, even supposing there were any intelligibility at all to be got out of the harlequin and clown rough-and-tumble, which for the moment seems to have only had the figurative effect of knocking the two policemen's heads off with the usual old-time pantomimic string of sausages (possibly, it is hinted, of the German persuasion), and the flattening up of the said policemen against what may be called the Dutch-Japanese scenery. Certainly the foreign Press in China can tell us little more than we can see or guess at

for ourselves—namely, that wooden swords and sausages are “flying round” on a serio-comic stage. Meanwhile, the Chinese Leninites and Bolshevikis are airing their mischievous views *ad libitum* in the native Press, probably primed with “German gold”; but luckily the three real things that matter—the people, trade, and British-guided revenue—are going on much as usual, and China is once more proving what has over and over again been asseverated in these successive articles—that her 3,000-year-old stability is practically independent of both central and local “government.” We may hope therefore that wise counsels will gradually supervene, and China find her feet again, and that she may not commit suicide by dividing herself off into two hostile factions, north and south. Even if the writer “knew a thing or two, you know” (which he does not), it would be highly improper for him to disclose it; he therefore takes refuge in competent native assertions as conveyed in a private letter from a highly-trained Chinese gentleman of high character, who is watching the fun on the spot with detached eye. Put into English, his words are as follow: “The crazy Chinese ship seems to get into more troubled waters than ever; the rabid Republicans could only talk-talk-talk in Parliament, and thus they disgusted the military powers, who, however, do not know how to get even that far. Though there are some honest souls among them, they are as a body not statesmanlike. The Vice-President [Fêng Kwoh-chang] is as astute and ‘knowing’ as ever, but, unless assured of support, he will not accept the responsibility of the *kih-fêng* [‘highest-peak,’ modern political jargon for ‘supreme office’]. The pigtailed Commander-in-Chief [Chang Hün] is now [middle of June] flushed with his success in having dictated the dissolution of Parliament; he is strong, and makes no pretence about anything [since then he has bolted for safety to the Dutch Legation], in which particular he resembles Yüan Shī-k’ai; but of course he does not possess the finer qualities of Yüan, for, after all, Chang Ta-shuai [meaning ‘Marshal

Chang Hün'] has not passed through the mill of a long, serious official career under a properly constituted Government. Since 1911, indeed, he has never been under any Government at all; he is utterly spoiled. The leaders of the *Kwoh-min-t'ang* [written with the same characters as the Japanese *Kokumindō*, which, however, is quite a different association] are flocking to Canton, and are preparing for another fourth or fifth revolution to sweep away the *tuh-küns* [military governors]. This time Li Lieh-kün, whose face, you will observe, has a curiously Japanese expression, desires to emulate the late Ts'ai Nghoh [whose Yün Nan revolt caused Yüan's overthrow], or at least to get a *tuh-künship* for himself; it is a puzzle to me how men like him can get any following at all."

In the spring of 1905 Chang Hün was sent with a division of the so-called Hwai army trained troops to Kalgan, as it was then not quite clear how the Russo-Japanese affair was going to be settled. Ever since 1902 he had been titular Brigadier-General of the wild Lolo region known as Kien-ch'ang (in 1284 Marco Polo's "Kaindu" or *Kien-tu*, was renamed Kien-ch'ang, and was governed by Kublai's nephew, Essentimur), and in 1908 he was appointed titular General of Yün Nan province. Everyone remembers his gallant defence at Nanking in the Manchu interest after the Revolution of 1911; his masterly "shortening of the line," seizure of Sü-chou, and *j'y suis j'y reste* attitude ever since upon the Tientsin-P'uk'ou railway; his chase after the rebel White Wolf; his reconquest and looting of Nanking; his temporary *tuh-künship* of the Kiang Su province; his fanciful Generalissimoship of the River Yangtsze; his nominal *tuh-künship* of An Hwei province—all these episodes had failed to rootle him out of his safe *gîte* at Sü-chou until, on June 1, the bewildered President (probably setting this trap quite guilelessly at someone's suggestion) issued a decree ending with the following words: "Things have gone so contrary to my wishes and intentions that I am over-

whelmed with vexation of spirit. Chang Hün, *tuh-kün* of An Hwei, is a patriotic and loyal man, who has done distinguished service to the State; I earnestly hope that he will with the utmost speed hasten to Peking and discuss the political situation with me. I am sure he will find a way out, and in prospect of it I am on the tiptoe of expectation." So far from a way out, poor Chang put his own head into the noose, and, sad to say, these two honest *soudards* between them found their noblest prospect (as Dr. Johnson, referring to needy Scotsmen, said of the high-road to England), in the high-road to the Japanese and the Dutch Legations respectively. *Kultur*, whether Chinese or German, or both, had betrayed them and failed them—according to newspaper reports, of course.

As to Li Lieh-kün, he was one of the self-appointed *tutuhs* (now called *tuh-kün*) of the Revolution, in self-arrogated possession of Kiang Si, his native province. When Yüan Shī-k'ai was at last firmly seated as President in July, 1912, he "confirmed" in their posts those *tutuhs* he could not get at in any way. Li Lieh-kün was one of them. He was, however, removed on June 9, 1913, in consequence of the Yangtze rebellion, in which he had been seriously and discredibly involved. In 1916 he was once more deeply involved in the "triangular duel" for possession of Canton, and on July 6 of that year was "ordered" to Peking. Honest Li Yüan-hung's main, if not only, idea of "policy" seems to have been to reward the sinner that repenteth on the same scale as the faithful who is sinned against; accordingly, on January 1 last Li Lieh-kün was decorated with the order of the "Excellent Crop," and, as a further reward for his disgruntled behaviour and repeated rebellions, was, on the 19th of that month, dubbed *Hwan-wei tsiang-kün*, or "Marshal of Ever-Conquering and Subduing Prestige." As to Fêng Kwoh-chang, his record is given in the January article of this Review above referred to; his action in the recent opium "buying-out" question recently brought him into the

limelight of somewhat unfavourable criticism. If anything more of a startling nature occurs in China before the proofs of this paper are corrected, a few remarks will be added at the end.

The action of Siam in joining up of her own free will with the Entente is perhaps much more important than our home Press seems to perceive. In March, 1888, the writer had the pleasure for two or three days of travelling with one of the Siamese Ministers named Bhaskara Wongsee, and after spending a month in Tonquin, Cochin China, etc., subsequently made his way *via* Pulo Condor and Kompot to Bangkok, where, through the good offices of the Minister just named, opportunity was gained to visit the lions of the place, including (if the hibernicism may be allowed) the white elephants and H. E. Devawongsee, the Foreign Minister. The first German Minister, Kempermann, arrived at the same time. In 1892 further opportunities were provided for visiting a number of the western states of Siam. In those days the Scottish Oriental Company had a practical monopoly of the Hongkong-Bangkok trade, whilst the Blue Funnel line and various powerful British-Chinese steamships worked the business between Singapore and Bangkok, and also between Singapore, Penang, Rangoon, Sumatra, and the Siamese peninsular States, all of which places were duly studied in detail. The Germans were just beginning to establish themselves strongly in Deli (Sumatra) in 1888, which place was, of course, also visited; in 1902 they had a hold on Sumatra tobacco. Shortly after the Boxer War of 1900-1901 the North German Lloyd bought up the Scottish Oriental Company, and as Butterfield and Swire, perhaps somewhat foolishly, held their agency in Bangkok, the Germans soon succeeded in conciliating the old clientèle and gaining a general trade predominance or control between Bangkok, Singapore, North Borneo, Hongkong, Swatow, and Hoihow. The Japanese tried to "chip in" with a line of steamers for a year or two, but were either

bought out or run out. It need hardly be said that the *lupinum caput* of Germany should, after its recent display of the basest trade treachery, be remorselessly hunted out from all these regions, her main object having been, of course, to annoy both British and French India by driving a political and economical wedge in between them, sowing mischief and ill-will in Macao, Japan, and Manila, and ultimately wresting the Dutch and Portuguese islands from their present inoffensive owners, who, as matters stand, undoubtedly owe a century of peaceful possession to the disinterested naval command of the Far Eastern seas exercised by Great Britain, and now by Japan, which last country, it must be remembered, had once fairly extensive relations with Siam. Germany has always enjoyed absolute "freedom of the seas" at the hands of Great Britain, not to mention perfect equality of settlers' rights; for all which she has shown a reptile's spite in place of gratitude. The present King of Siam is a highly-educated gentleman—a 'Varsity man—who speaks English perfectly, and no doubt now sees clearly what a mistake was made when German predominance, at the cost of Danish military influence, crept in at Bangkok during the last years of his father's reign. It is about fifteen years ago since he visited Liverpool on his way home, and the writer had the honour of being present at a Chamber of Commerce dinner given to him by the late Sir Alfred Jones, on which occasion no doubt His Majesty heard one or two suggestions likely to be of future advantage to his country.

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P.S.—With reference to the remark on p. 158, events *have* since taken place, but it would not be proper for me to make any observations upon matters still under official negotiation.



## THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

### CHAPTER VI

ON the retirement of General R. M. Macdonald from the Vice-Chairmanship of Council at the end of the 1889 Session, Sir Richard Meade, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman; and on November 25, at The Westminster Town Hall, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.P., the President, delivered an address on "India in the House of Commons."

He said that it was a libel on the House to assert that its members had neglected the interests of India, and he declared that during the past session the Indian Empire had received more attention than all our Colonies put together.

The three great classes of Indian Revenue—the salt, the excise and the opium taxes—had all been brought under notice, and he pointed out to those who regarded with anxiety any increase of the salt tax that this was perhaps the only Imperial tax paid by the Indian peasant. Some of the best debates in the House had related to railway policy in India.

He concluded with what he regarded as the most important subject of all—the National Congress and the Council at Whitehall—and he said he thought there was a general disposition amongst the Members of the House to grant what might be called "Representative Institutions" to India to some extent.

A meeting was held on Wednesday afternoon, April 23, 1890, in the Westminster Town Hall under the presidency of Sir George Birdwood, when a paper was read by Mr. C. Purdon Clarke, C.I.E., entitled "Is the Preservation of the Industrial Arts of India Possible?"

Mr. Clarke took the view that Hindu art will be preserved only so long as the Hindu religion endures. He considered that we owed the bulk of the Indian art-wares to the Moghul invaders, and that the great period of Indian art began with the Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century.

The Chairman contended that Hindu art industries were really essentially indigenous, and he quoted from the Code of Manu and other authorities in support of this view.

Dr. G. W. Leitner, who joined in the debate, said:

"I think there is little doubt of the possibility of preserving the Indian industrial arts while they have such advocates as Mr. Purdon Clarke and Sir George Birdwood both with the British and the Indian public. The latter suffers from the drawback of a conquered nation, of losing the power of judging, and of imitating the conqueror; it is, therefore, by the conqueror himself appreciating and following the art of the conquered, as in the case of Rome with reference to Greece, that the preservation of that art becomes possible. There is, I think, every reason for taking a hopeful view of this subject when we take note of the growing influence of Oriental culture in European countries; for instance, there is the remarkable progress of Buddhism in France, and the influence which ancient Eastern ideas have now upon philosophy and even science. In the industrial arts it is also from India or from the East in general that we are largely drawing for inspiration. 'Ex Oriente lux, ex Occidente lex.' What Eastern inspiration has of beauty must live for ever; for it has the elements of eternal life. We are gradually beginning to see that 'Civilization' is not necessarily 'Culture'; that, after all, the telegraph is only useful if you have something to say; that a railway is necessary if the business really requires despatch; but telegraphs, railways,



etc., are mere agencies; all these mechanical conquests or facilities of our civilization are only worth having as aids to the far greater conquests of culture. Among the remnants of ancient culture in India are the trade-guilds, to which reference has been made. These guilds have really a religion of their own. Take, for instance, the carpenters. God, as architect, arises out of a particular combination of Siva and Vishnu; then follows a mythology and literature with customs and songs for that particular caste. The same ideals exist in every caste, and, if faithfully perpetuated, would indeed make the lowest a man of light and leading in his own occupation, above which no man can rise except in the sense of being perfect in his own calling. Even the Indian sweeper is from his point of view 'a Prince' ('Māhter,' as he is called), and his prototype is 'Mahter' in the Indian Olympus. I will give you two instances which came under my notice at Bhownuggur, first of the influence of English teaching, and secondly of the absence of such teaching. In one case a sculptor who had done good work in his own native indigenous way was sent to Bombay and received in our excellent Art School. When he came back he told me in the greatest agony that all his goddesses now had English faces! The other instance is that of a carpenter, who was a member of a caste comprising about 130 odd families, who had preserved a mythology of their own. One evening I asked him: 'What is the practical use of this mythology? Can you tell me, for instance, where is the true north?' I admit, in passing, that my question was more European than wise. The carpenter, however, proceeded to find the true north by his own methods. He took a lump of mud and laid it square on a table, then he placed upon it up to the centre three thin slips of wood, and lit them, and—judging by the shadow which they threw—showed the true north. That was his caste method. It reminds one of the injunction in the Zendavesta to 'bind up a three-twigged Barosma against the way of the sun.' Now it seems to me that in the sculptor's case there was a

distinctly pernicious influence of our art training, while in the other case of the unadulterated native carpenter there was something to learn and admire. It is the same with all the castes, down to the humblest occupations. They have sometimes an ancient dialect running concurrently with the technical dialect of their trade. English feeling in this country is on the right side because we wish the perpetuation of India with all its goodness; we should not meet in this room as we do if we wished to destroy Indian culture; we should try to make the people hewers of wood and drawers of water by giving them a smattering of English just sufficient to put them into a state of ferment (which they would call 'reform'), and thereby ruin their national vitality; because a nation that copies another nation is physiologically doomed to destruction in the third or fourth generation. I will now conclude with the hope that we may find with regard to India what we have found with regard to Greece—that

"India capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes  
Intulit agresti Latio."

On February 14, 1890, the following address was presented by the Association to Lord Harris, the Governor Designate of Bombay:

"My Lord,

"It is gratifying to the Council of this Association, of which your Lordship is a Vice-President, to express their sincere pleasure at your Lordship's appointment to the high office of Governor of Bombay. They are aware of the very great interest—a great hereditary interest, it may be said—which your Lordship takes in that vast Empire of the Realm in which you are about to hold so important a post, and they wish you God-speed in your new career, assuring your Lordship of their sympathy in the arduous duties which you will be called upon to discharge, and begging you to accept their most cordial congratulations.

"As your Lordship is aware, this Association was estab-

lished solely for the furtherance of the interests of India and for the advancement of the welfare of her people.

"Your Memorialists are unwilling to encroach on your valuable time by entering into any detailed observations or urging their own views with respect to any of the varied and important subjects connected with the Presidency of Bombay, such as the judicious encouragement of means by which the available water-supply of Western India will be turned to the utmost account for irrigating the arid districts of the Deccan, Kattiawar, Cutch, and Scinde.

"The improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry of Western India.

"The introduction or revival of suitable mechanical arts so that the masses of the people may be less dependent on agriculture, and the continuation of the efforts already made on behalf of primary and secondary education and industrial training.

"The cautious development of railways and canals.

"The development of the principle of decentralization of provincial finance.

"The participation of the people in the administration and management of their own local affairs, and the further extension of the principles of municipal government.

"The removal of race antagonism by the promotion of friendly social intercourse between Europeans and natives of India.

"The organization of the Native Army so as to offer suitable openings for advancement to native officers.

"The improvement of the numerous Native States in Western India.

"The amelioration of the condition of the poorer members of the European and Eurasian communities, and the removal of the disadvantages under which they labour in procuring employment.

"All of which the Council feel assured will receive your Lordship's earnest consideration.

"The Council hope that the people of Bombay, under the

guidance of your wisdom and judgment, recognizing the beneficent effects of salutary influence judiciously exercised, may be strengthened and confirmed in their attachment to the Paramount Power; whilst enlightened men of rank and position may be encouraged to take a legitimate interest in the transaction of public affairs.

“ In conclusion, the Association venture to express an earnest wish that in the execution of the weighty task you have now undertaken your labours may be crowned with complete success.”

In a paper on “ Some Results of the Permanent Settlement,” read under the presidency of the most Hon. The Marquis of Ripon, K.G., Mr. Herbert I. Reynolds, C.S.I., argued that a consideration of the results of the Settlement as a whole led to the conclusion that it was a wise and statesmanlike measure; that politically it had been a tower of strength to the Empire; that from a social and economical point of view it had stimulated the prosperity and fostered the intelligence of the Province of Bengal; and that even from a strictly financial standpoint the surrender of an increased land-tax has been in some measure compensated by a steady development of other branches of the public revenue.

He therefore urged that the principle of the Permanent Settlement should be extended.

Lord Ripon, the Chairman, said he was not prepared to recommend the extension of the Permanent Settlement, because he thought the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in many ways went too far. He thought that, after an assessment had been made, there should be assurance that no increase will be made except upon certain distinct, clear, and acknowledged grounds—such as the bringing under cultivation of new land, or the introduction of railways, or anything that is brought into the district by the action of the Government (or on their behalf), or a large change in the value of money.

The "Progress made by the Punjab" since 1849 was described in an elaborate sketch read before the Association, under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. The Lord Reay, by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles L. Tupper. In the course of this paper he (Mr. Tupper) happened to denounce the litigiousness of the people of the Punjab. But Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I. (a Member of the Council of the East India Association), pointed out that the fallacy of this statement about the growth of litigiousness had been exposed by the Chief of the Punjab Court, Mr. Boulnois. The error arose from viewing matters too much from an official standpoint, the fact being that, judged by standards of European countries, and England in particular, the people of the Punjab were singularly moderate in their resort to Courts of Law.

Whenever Government is by law there will be lawyers! For many years they were kept out of the Courts in the Punjab, but they flourished outside the Courts, till at last even that Patriarch of Patriarchs, Sir Donald McLeod, was forced to yield, and removed the prohibition, observing that: "If you must have scoundrels about the Courts, it is better to have them *inside* under control rather than outside not under control."

At the annual meeting held in May, 1891, the President, Sir Richard Temple, laid it down as a desirable policy that the Association should always continue carefully non-partisan, while affording an arena for the expression of all sorts of views and opinions from all sorts and conditions of people. He said: "It had fully maintained its usefulness by careful dissociation from all party, and had discussed all public questions regarding India in the broadest and most comprehensive spirit."

He earnestly trusted that the Association would retain that character, and that Indians would see that if they wished to be heard in the Councils of the British nation they would most efficaciously advance that object by joining in the Association's work.

On December 14, 1891, under the presidency of Sir Richard

Meade, Dr. Leitner delivered an address on the "Races, Religion, and Politics of the Pamir Regions." He described the country, from his own observation, as consisting of a series of plateau valleys beyond the Hindu Kush, placed so high as to entitle them to the name of the "Roof of the World." The people, inhabiting several interesting principalities, constituted tribes of about twelve hundred persons each, chiefly shepherds, wandering from place to place on the fertile pastures. In religion, customs, and laws they were nearer to us than from the geographical distance might be supposed. In the northern part they were under the influence of Russia, and in other districts under that of Afghanistan and China. British policy should be to lead them to regard us as powerful though distant friends, rather than to fight against their matchlocks and bows and arrows in order to make roads through their country, which would serve to facilitate the advance of Russia. The absence of roads through the Pamirs constituted one of our mightiest defences of India. The Nagyris were a pious people devoted to agriculture, whom we were shooting down with Gatlings. He thought it was a great shame. Gilgit, Dr. Leitner stated, is a plain, or plateau, surrounded by some of the highest hills of the Himalayas, and the language of the people is particularly refined. He denied emphatically that they had encroached on British rights, and he doubted the necessity of taking their forts. He entreated the English not to destroy the vestiges of some of the earliest civilizations of the world. On concluding, he showed several specimens of native work.

A meeting was held on Wednesday, June 1, 1892, at the Westminster Town Hall, under the presidency of Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., for the purpose of considering a paper on "The Opium Question," read by Surgeon-General Sir William Moore, K.C.I.E., honorary physician to the Queen. Sir William argued that while opium-smoking was less injurious than opium-eating, still, the latter was not such a destructive habit as has been portrayed; that the effects

of opium taken in any manner were altogether on the nervous system, and, however great, passed off; that no organic disease was traceable to the use of opium, whether used in moderate quantities or in excess; that opium was almost a necessity of life to some people; and that there was no more immorality in smoking opium than in drinking wine or in smoking tobacco. It had been asserted that the habitual use of opium terminated life in about five years, but he was acquainted with natives of India who had used opium from boyhood, and who, at forty, fifty, or even the grand climacteric of sixty-three, were hale and hearty as any of their fellows. Against the common platform assertions that "Indian opium was rapidly destroying the Chinese nation, he pointed to the fact that in almost all walks of life the Chinaman could compete with and beat the European, surpassing him in industry, sobriety, and carefulness of living. He insisted that opium was not the injurious agent it had been asserted to be; that there were reasons connected with climate, disease, food-products of the country, manner of life, habits and customs, why Easterns used opium; that the beneficial result from the use of opium far counterpoised its injurious effects.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., presided on March 2, 1893, at the Westminster Town Hall, when Mr. Justice (now Sir John) Jardine read a paper on "Trial by Jury in England and India." Mr. Jardine held that the considerations, which on the whole weigh in favour of trial by jury, are quite appreciated by the Indian authorities, and that it was probable that the system would be extended as strong judges and more careful charges became more common.

On Thursday afternoon, March 28, 1893, Mr. James B. Pennington, formerly of the Madras Civil Service, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Pinhey, dealt with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's "Theory of the Poverty of India."

Mr. Pennington began by urging that the difficult business of governing India should not be made more difficult by

unnecessary and delusive reasoning upon the economic conditions of the native population.

India, he admitted, was a very poor country, but it was not poor by reason of the so-called British tribute, for which it gained amply compensating advantages. As regarded taxation, Sir William Hunter had pointed out that the poll-tax of the Emperor Akbar, if now levied from each non-Mussulman male adult, would yield an amount exceeding the whole taxation of British India; and there were forty such taxes under the Moghal rulers, besides the land-tax. The contention that the enormous taxation of the Moghals was less injurious to India than the much lighter burdens of the present day, because it was all spent in the country, could not be sustained when it was recalled that the revenues of the Delhi Emperors were squandered in maintaining hordes of half-disciplined troops. The plain matter of fact was that the condition of the cultivating classes was improving under British domination, as far as Government could improve it, and the reform most needed was in the habits and customs of the peoples. While fully admitting the disadvantages of a foreign and absentee Government, Mr. Pennington concluded that there was no alternative in India between foreign government and no government at all.



## ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the Jubilee Year of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., on Tuesday, June 19, 1917, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., presiding. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. Owen Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Phillipowsky, Mr. Emanuel, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. James McDonald, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. McIver, I.S.O., Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. R. G. Udani, Mr. and Mrs. H. G. West, Mr. V. F. Vicajee, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, as you are no doubt all aware, this year is the Jubilee of the Association, but the effect of this time of terrible struggle and strife will be possibly that this Jubilee year of the Association will not be marked by such pleasing features as it otherwise would, but I am happy to say that now, in spite of the War, there are a greater number of members than there have been since 1900. Allowing for the resignations and deaths, we are still thirty-six to the good in our membership during the past twelve months. Of those new members elected, thirty-five were Indians and the rest Europeans, so that you will see that there is a slight increase of Indians who have become members of the Association over the Europeans. We shall all rejoice at that particular feature, as also at the increase of our membership on the whole.

Now, no doubt you will ask: How has it been possible for this to have been achieved? Of course, there is only one answer, and that is "Pollen." I know we all realize that. Without his continued activities and zeal, and true and honest labour, I do not suppose for a moment that we should have been able to be in the proud position of having increased our membership. He has not only done that, but he has also throughout the year presented a very considerable number of papers which have been read before the Association, and papers of very considerable interest. I very much regret that, owing to my duties elsewhere, I have not been able to preside at one of them, but I have seen the papers, and I have noticed

how they dealt with various subjects connected with India in a very thorough and masterly manner. Now, so much being due to Dr. Pollen, and judging by my own feelings, I think that what gives me more pleasure than anything else was that which I read in the paper that His Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him the Kaisar-i-Hind medal. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure that you all enter into my feeling, and share it equally with myself, and therefore I trust that there has been also great pleasure accruing to Dr. Pollen as the recipient of that distinction. I dare say he dislikes me speaking in his praise in his presence, but I am confident that there could not be a more worthy bestowal of honour than that. You may call the work that he carries on unobtrusive, and out of the regular line of those who usually receive this medal, who are naturally those working in India itself, and who therefore are more likely to attract the eye of the authorities to be recommended for their labours. But I think anyone who knows the working of this Association—and I believe this is perfectly true—knows that he has done a great deal of good in bringing together Indians and Europeans, and getting them to understand one another better, and to increase the liberality of ideas, even among those of our Indian friends who may not quite see eye to eye with the lines on which this Association conducts itself. I am confident there is not one of them who would not say that in Dr. Pollen we have a gentleman whose one aim and object is to further that very laudable result, and no one could achieve more than he has done himself by his singleness of purpose and unselfish work. (Hear, hear.) You will all approve of his action as having helped to improve the relations between ourselves and our Indian friends.

Now, perhaps I may also offer a word of praise to Mr. Pennington (Hear, hear), who is such a very excellent coadjutor to Dr. Pollen in his really very onerous labours. I do not suppose many people realize what it means, the carrying on of the work of a modern Association of this kind—the constant attendance and being always practically on the spot to try and help someone who wants information and advice; to have someone always there means a very great sacrifice of time, and therefore it is very pleasing to find that in Mr. Pennington Dr. Pollen has had a very excellent supporter.

We are also very grateful to all those who have read papers before this Association, not only the gentlemen, but also the two lady lecturers—one, Lady Katherine Stuart, whose paper I have read with great interest, and which I thought had several novel features about it, on the subject of "To-morrow in India"; and the second one being Miss M. Ashworth, who read a paper on "The Education of Women in India." We are very grateful to those ladies, as also to the gentlemen who have been good enough to be at the pains of preparing and reading their papers before this Association.

I should also refer to the fact that the Council of the Association offered their congratulations to those who came to join in the Conference over here as representing India on the Imperial War Council: Sir James

Meston, K.C.S.I., Colonel H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., A.D.C., and Sir Satyatyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt. They came over here for very responsible work indeed, for the first time making India representative in the Imperial Council. It is the first move of what may possibly be a very big development and one which no one can possibly forecast how it will take shape. It was a great departure, and one which this Association heartily approves of. I think, therefore, we were quite right in addressing to them such a welcome as we did.

Now, the next feature is with reference to those we have lost. First of all we have lost Sir Lesley Probyn, who has been for a very long time a member of our Council, and he has been a true friend of the Association, and we feel that a great gap has been made in our ranks by his death. We shall still continue to be associated with his memory, as by his will I understand he has left a gift of £100 to this Association.

Then there is another gentleman whom we have lost in the person of Mr. B. Lal Gupta, who has had a very distinguished career; and there have been others, too, who have been more or less connected with the work of the Association. I cannot help remembering that it is usual for the chair on this occasion to be occupied by Lord Reay. As we all know, he met with an untimely accident some time ago, and he has been a sufferer by the loss of that very highly cultivated lady, Lady Reay. Then again, this country has lost the Duchess of Connaught, whose memory was so much endeared to many of the people of India. I often used to hear her name mentioned in Bombay in terms of great affection and regard. Then the Council has been good enough in the Report to mention my mother, who often used to come here from time to time and be present with me at these lectures.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I think that really covers the ground of what you will all find in the more voluminous pages dealing with the Jubilee Report of this Association, and it only remains for you to pass that Report. The Accounts are presented to you in the Report, and I see we have an excess of income over expenditure of £40.

The SECRETARY: If we had got our income-tax refunded in time, we should have had £40 over, after covering all expenses; we have no debts or liabilities of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN: I think that is a very satisfactory working indeed, considering the great activity of this Association.

Then you will see that we have published in book form certain papers connected with India, which it is hoped the public will buy so as to defray to some extent the cost of them.

I have now pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts of this Jubilee Year of the East India Association.

Sir CHARLES ARMSTRONG: I have much pleasure in seconding that.

The CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure that the adoption of the Report and Accounts be passed? Those in favour please signify in the usual way. (Carried unanimously.)

Dr. POLLEN: I hope your Lordship will allow me to express my deep

sense of personal gratitude and obligation to you for your very kind remarks about me and the little I have been able to do for the Association. Your Lordship very justly said that Mr. Pennington has been with me nearly every day, and we have worked together closely from the first. However, we are both getting well advanced in years now, and we hope that some younger member of the Association will soon come to our rescue and help us with the work of the Association in the future. Your Lordship has very kindly referred to the honour the King has conferred upon me in judging me worthy of the Kaisar-i-Hind medal, and I see my friend and "Brother-Medelman" (if I may so call him) sitting here to-day—Mr. Coldstream—and I think I may say we are both equally proud of having earned—or being held to have earned—what we have always regarded as the O.M. of the East. The recognition is for work done outside official duty, and he and I both feel highly honoured by His Majesty in that he has been graciously pleased to confer upon us this distinction.

In conclusion, I am glad your Lordship has been able to preside over us to-day, and we all fully concur with you in your sympathy with Lord Reay in the accident which has befallen him, and in the sad bereavement he has suffered by the death of Lady Reay. I have had a very kind letter from his Lordship saying how sorry he is not to have been able to be with us to-day. I understand he is quite prepared to stay on with us as President if we re-elect him to that office; and I think our next duty is to move the election of our President.

Sir M. BHOWNAGGREE: My Lord and Gentlemen, I would like to associate myself in the expressions of congratulation that have fallen from your lordship in regard to the honour that has been conferred upon our excellent Secretary by His Majesty. I entirely concur in the sentiments expressed by you as to the affable manner in which he brings together the British and Indian members of the Association. It is no doubt due in a great measure, if not entirely, to the activities of our Secretary. It is due to his genial influence amongst my countrymen that so many of them are on the rolls of its membership.

The honour conferred upon him by the King, we know, is a high distinction; as he says, it is perhaps the O.M. of the Indian roll of honours, but let us hope the Authorities have not finished with him, for the sake of the Association, if it will induce him to stay on with us until a higher honour is conferred upon him, which in my opinion, at all events, and I dare say in that of many others here, he amply deserves, and which we trust may come to him before long.

With regard to the proposition I have to move, I do not think I need say many words. Lord Reay's eminent position, and the affectionate remembrance in which he is held in India, and the devoted and zealous way in which he has presided over the fortunes of this Association for many years past, entitle him to be re-elected as President of this Association for a further term (Hear, hear), and we trust it will be many years before it becomes necessary to replace him. Your Lordship has expressed in feeling terms the sympathy which has gone out from all of us to him on account

of the suffering he has undergone as the result of his recent accident and the great deprivation of his life in the loss of Lady Reay. Reference has been already made to that sad event in the Report, and I am sure Lord Reay has appreciated it as a genuine expression of the esteem in which he is held by all members of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

I have great pleasure in moving that Lord Reay be re-elected President for the forthcoming year.

Mr. OWEN DUNN: I have great pleasure in seconding that. (Carried unanimously.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM proposed the re-election of the retiring members. The list given was:

Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I.

Sir William Ovens Clark.

W. Coldstream, Esq.

Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Daniel M. Hamilton.

Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

He said: I understand that these gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is also open to any member of the Association to propose any candidate for election; meantime I move that these gentlemen be re-elected—except with regard to one, and it is not for me to say in that respect! I am quite sure we shall be all delighted if they will accept office, which I believe they have signified their readiness to do. I therefore propose these gentlemen, retiring by rotation, be re-elected to the office of Members of the Council.

Mr. McDONALD: I have very great pleasure in seconding that.

The CHAIRMAN: It is proposed and seconded that these gentlemen be re-elected. Those in favour? (Carried unanimously.)

The SECRETARY: I should like to propose the name of Sir Abbas Ali Baig as a new Member of Council, and also the name of Mr. John Nicholson, who is a leading merchant in the City of London, and was recently the Master of the Painters' and Stainers' Company, and who takes a very deep interest in India. He is a thoroughly nice man in every way, and has been a member of our body for some time.

Mr. SEN: I have pleasure in seconding that.

The CHAIRMAN: It has been proposed and seconded that these two gentlemen be elected as members of the Council. Those in favour? (Carried unanimously.)

The HON. SECRETARY: Then there is one point about the election of a Vice-President. We have vacancies, and it has occurred to me some member might like to propose that Lord Carmichael should be elected a Vice-President. I have every reason to believe that he would not be reluctant to accept that position.

Mr. PENNINGTON: I shall be glad to propose that.

The SECRETARY: Sir Roper Lethbridge is a Member of our Council, and I have great pleasure in proposing him also as Vice-President.

Mr. SEN : I have pleasure in seconding those two gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN : It is proposed and seconded that Lord Carmichael and Sir Roper Lethbridge be elected as Vice-Presidents of this Association. Those in favour please signify in the usual manner. (Carried unanimously.)

The CHAIRMAN : Then I think that concludes the business of the meeting.

The SECRETARY : Except that we ought to offer a vote of thanks to our Chairman.

Mr. OWEN DUNN : I have pleasure in seconding that.

This was put to the meeting, and carried by acclamation.

## THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the proceedings of the Association during the year 1916-1917 (its Jubilee Report).

Sixty-one members were proposed and elected during the year. Of these, thirty-five were Indians and the rest Europeans. Nine members died and sixteen—the same number as in the preceding year—resigned, so the total increase in membership during the year amounts to thirty-six, not an unsatisfactory result, seeing that we are in the third year of war.

Amongst the deaths the Association has had to deplore the loss of one of their Members of Council, Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., who for twenty-eight years had been a Member of the Association, and who had served on the Council for twenty-two years, “where his kindly wisdom, based on his long service in India and ready sympathy with her people and her needs, was always welcomed and highly valued.” By his will Sir Lesley Probyn left one hundred pounds to the Association, free of duty.

The Association also lost by death during the year a valued member in the person of Mr. Bihari Lal Gupta, C.S.I., who had a distinguished career in the Bengal Civil Service, became a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and after his retirement was selected by H. H. the Gaekwar to be Diwan of Baroda.

One of the first acts of the Council during the year was

the submission to Lord Hardinge, K.G., of a letter of welcome on his return from his pre-eminently successful six years' administration as Viceroy of India.

In his reply his Lordship thanked the Council for their appreciation of his administration and assured them that any success that might have attended his efforts to draw England and India closer together were largely due to the loyal co-operation of all those who worked with him during his term of office.

On the attainment of his ninety-second year a letter of congratulation was sent by the Council to the venerable Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Founder of the Association.

The attention of the Council was drawn to the excellent service rendered by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., in the publication of his booklet "The Verdict of India," containing a crushing reply to German falsehoods with regard to India, and it was resolved that in view of Sir Mancherjee's prolonged services to the Association, extending from the early days of its foundation until now, he be appointed an honorary member.

The Council placed on record their regret on hearing of the accident which happened to their esteemed President, Lord Reay, to whom they subsequently tendered their sincere condolences on the irreparable loss his Lordship had sustained by the death of Lady Reay. Her ladyship had always taken the deepest interest in India, and had devoted herself to the welfare of its people, especially in the matter of the education of Indian women (see NOTE, p. 11).

The Council also placed on record the deep sorrow with which they had heard of the death of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught, who had always so graciously identified herself with the well-being of the people of India, and they respectfully tendered to His Royal Highness the Duke their most sincere condolences.

They also offered to their Chairman of Council, Lord Lamington, their sympathy with his Lordship on the death of his mother, the Dowager Lady Lamington, who so



frequently attended the meetings of the Association, and took so much interest in its proceedings.

On the arrival of the Delegates to the Imperial War Council from India the Council addressed to them the following welcome :

"The Council of the East India Association offer their cordial congratulations and welcome to Sir James Scorbie Meston, K.C.S.I., Colonel H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., A.D.C., and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, K.T., (the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council), on the important and historic occasion of their visit to England, at the invitation of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, as Representatives of the Government, the Princes and the People of India, to aid him, in conjunction with the Delegates from the overseas Dominions of the Empire, in the deliberations of the War Council of the British Government."

The following replies were received from the Delegates :

*From Sir James Meston.*

"Will you kindly convey to the Council of the Association my warm and respectful thanks for the high honour they have paid me in their resolution of welcome? It is indeed a historic occasion, and we all feel not only the distinction, but also the grave responsibility, of being the Secretary of State's assistants in the representation of Indian interests in this Council of Empire. It is also a new and sincere pleasure to meet in consultation the representatives of the Dominions, from whom we have already received the most cordial friendliness. The result cannot but be the strengthening of the bonds that unite India with the other component parts of the British Empire, and the greater good of us all. The welcome extended to us by the East India Association will support and encourage us in our work.

"Yours sincerely,

"JAS. MESTON."

*From H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir :*

"Will you kindly convey my sincere thanks to the Council of the East India Association for their kind congratulations and welcome as expressed in their resolution of March 26 ?

"I much regret that having to attend a meeting at the India Office prevented my being with you on Monday.

"Yours sincerely,

"GANGA SINGH"

*From Sir Satyendra P. Sinha to Dr. Pollen :*

"Many thanks for your kind letter enclosing the resolution of welcome from the East India Association Council. I am deeply grateful for it to them, and to you for the kind words in which you proposed it. It was indeed kind of you to have quoted Lord Minto's more than kind reference to me.

"With kindest regards,

"Yours very sincerely,

"S. P. SINHA."

No fresh "Truths about India" were issued by the Association during the year, but two hundred and fifty volumes of "Truths about India" and "More Truths about India" have been bound together and carefully indexed, and are now on sale (to cover expenses of printing, etc.) at 2s. 6d. a volume.

It has been resolved by the Council that additional pamphlets containing truths about India should continue to be issued on constructive rather than on critical lines.

Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., a member of the Association, has offered to deliver a course of lectures on India to leading schools throughout the country under the auspices of the Association, and this kind offer is now under the consideration of the Council.

A brief historical sketch of the activities of the Association for the last fifty years is appearing in serial chapters in

the *Asiatic Review*, under the heading, "The Jubilee of the East India Association," and can be published in book form hereafter if approved.

Papers on the following subjects were read during the year :

*May* 22, 1916.—"Famine Protection Works in British Bundelkund," by Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E. Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.S.O., in the chair.

*June* 19, 1916.—"Thirty-five Years' Advance in Indian Railway Development," by Herbert Kelway-Bamber, Esq., M.V.O. The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*July* 17, 1916.—"Indian Railway Policy," by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E. Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., in the chair.

*October* 17, 1916.—"The Magnesite Mines of India," by C. H. B. Burlton, Esq. Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., in the chair.

*November* 13, 1916.—"Co-operation in India: Its Aims and Difficulties," by B. Abdy Collins, Esq., I.C.S. The Right Hon. Lord Islington, P.C., G.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

*December* 18, 1916.—"Indian Weights, Measures, and Money," by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E. Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., in the chair (in the absence of Sir Albert K. Rollit, D.C.L., LL.D.).

*January* 22, 1917.—"To-morrow in India," by Lady Katharine Stuart. The Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P. (Governor-Designate of Bengal), in the chair.

*February* 26, 1917.—"The Native States of India in their Relation with the Paramount Power," by T. H. S. Biddulph, Esq., C.I.E. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*March* 26, 1917.—"The Education of Women in India," by Miss M. Ashworth. Sir Frederick S.

Lely, K.C.I.E., in the chair (in the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.).

*April 30, 1917.*—"Agricultural Tenures in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh," by Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie, K.C.S.I. Sir William F. Duke, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Shiva Darshan Lal Argawala, Esq.

Sant Ram Anand, Esq.

Sir Charles H. Armstrong.

A. M. Ahmad, Esq.

Shamsul Ulma Kamaluddin Ahmad, Esq.

George Adams, Esq.

Henry Deacon Allen, Esq.

Kapoor Chand Bhandari, Esq.

Edward Alfred Birch, Esq.

K. Sorabji Bhiwandiwalla, Esq.

Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell, F.R.G.S.

Sir Henry Parsall Burt, K.C.I.E.

General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Premnath M. Chopra, Esq.

P. Cox, Esq.

Major-General Sir Vaughan Cox.

R. N. Dhauran, Esq.

Rai Bahadur P. Deirchand.

V. G. Dani, Esq.

Juanankur De, Esq.

Alfred Ezra, Esq.

Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Hill Godfrey, C.I.E.

Colonel H. L. Goodenough.

Sharafat Hussain, Esq., B.A.

Elias C. Henriques, Esq.

Khan Bahadur Mosilvi Syed Illifat Rasool Hashmi.

Charles Hamilton, Esq.

Manchershah Framroze Joshi, Esq.  
 J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy, Esq.  
 Mirza Hashim Ispahani, Esq.  
 Captain Mohammed Akbar Khan, Chief of Hoti.  
 P. D. Kharé, Esq.  
 Malik Firoz Khan, Esq.  
 Sir James S. Meston, K.C.S.I.  
 Rao Bahadur K. G. Srinivasa Mudaliar.  
 Bankim Behary Mukharji, Esq.  
 John MacIver, Esq., I.S.O.  
 Lieutenant Jehangir Karkhusro Nariman, I.M.S.  
 H. James Newson, Esq.  
 D. L. Patvardhan, Esq.  
 Atma Ram, Esq.  
 The Hon. Mr. A. Suryanarayana Row.  
 Mohamed Bin Seif, Esq.  
 The Hon. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E.  
 Walter Shepherd, Esq., I.C.S.  
 Samuel Henry Slater, Esq., I.C.S.  
 Miss F. R. Scatcherd.  
 Miss Julia Elisabeth Severs.  
 The Right Hon. Sir Albert Spicer, M.P.  
 Lady Katharine Stuart.  
 Jehangir Nusserwanjee Setna, Esq.  
 Sir Lancelot Sanderson, K.C.  
 Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha.  
 Rustom J. Tata, Esq.  
 Francis Samuel Tabor, Esq.  
 V. F. Vicajee, Esq.  
 James Procter Watson, Esq., J.P.  
 Brigadier-General William Crawford Walton.  
 Muhammad Abdul Wajid, Esq.  
 M. Zahur-ud-din, Esq.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Nawabzadah A. F. M. Abdul Ali.  
 Sir Robert Smith Aikman.

Sir John Benton, K.C.I.E.  
The Hon. Rai Bahadur Hari Chand.  
Pratap Chandra Chatarji, Esq.  
William Doderet, Esq.  
Walter Hill Dawson, Esq.  
Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D.  
F. M. Garda, Esq.  
Dr. Fram Gotla.  
The Hon. Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi.  
Jehangir Dosabhoy Framjee Karaka, Esq.  
Sir Walter Roper Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E.  
D. Alan Purdie, Esq.  
Rup Kishore Tandam, Esq.  
Sirdar Arjan Singh.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

F. H. Barrow, Esq.  
F. C. Chamier, Esq.  
Sir Edward Lee French, K.C.V.O.  
W. F. Grahame, Esq.  
Bihari Lal Gupta, Esq., C.S.I.  
Jal Dinshaw Nicholson, Esq.  
Sir Lesley Charles Probyn, K.C.V.O.  
Harry Marshall Ross, Esq.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Hill Godfrey, C.I.E., and Sir Charles H. Armstrong, have been co-opted Members of the Council. The following retire by rotation :

Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I.  
Sir William Ovens Clark.  
W. Coldstream, Esq.  
Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.  
Sir Daniel M. Hamilton.  
Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue

to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £337 9s. 3d. (including cash and postage in hand), as compared with £336 16s. 8d. last year.

### BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1917

ASSETS.				LIABILITIES.	
Investments in India: Govern- ment Promissory Notes for					
Rupees 92,400	...	£4,248	0 0		
Library and Furniture	...	350	0 0		
War Loan	...	190	0 0		
Balance of Bank and Cash					
Account	...	337	9 2		
		£5,125	9 2		
				General Fund Balance car- ried forward	... £5,125 9 2

Examined and found correct.

G. O. WM. DUNN, Member of Council.

G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

J. POLLEN, Hon. Secretary.

June 1, 1917.

## SOME TENDENCIES OF MODERN RUSSIAN LITERATURE

BY V. MOURAVIEFF APOSTOL

### THE PREACHERS; DOSTOEVSKY AND TOLSTOY

AFTER the period of romanticism that flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century, there follows two famous philosophical humanitarians who may be said to represent a whole epoch in themselves. They are quite a contrast to the group of writers who came before them. Instead of rising up in revolt against contemporary realities, they are full of sympathy with them. They sacrifice the problematic heroes and preach the insignificance of individual leadership—the necessity that every unit should bow before the truths which the majority has accepted. This is the teaching of these two great thinkers, and is the reason why they are called preachers.

Dostoevsky lived from 1826 to 1881. His father was a poor military surgeon. Though a weak and sickly child, subject to hallucinations and periodical attacks of epilepsy, he passed with brilliant success through his rather complicated school education, and possessed all his life a powerful brain and an instinct for elaborate and deep psychological analyses of the human soul.

Unluckily his life was a frightfully sad one; his exile in Siberia and his most unfortunate marriage made him a real martyr, and caused him to see the worst sides of life, and



study and depict the miserable and forlorn, or else criminals, idiots, and moral degenerates.

His style also suffered thereby, and was heavy and often difficult to understand at first reading. At the bottom of each of his works we always find the idea of forgiveness and the mystical joy of the repentant sinner.

Dostoevsky did not believe in his own martyrdom, neither did he believe in the infamy of the common thieves and murderers who were his companions in durance vile. He always thought that once the forfeit of the lost sheep is paid, the individual soul is clear, and neither crime nor dishonour remains. This feature reappears in his great work "Crime and Punishment," and partly in the "Memoirs of the House of the Dead."

Dostoevsky's great merit lies in the fact that he has demonstrated the likelihood that the development of the criminal germ, in one solitary intelligence, may foster a social malady.

In the domain of psychology and pathology the great novelist owes nothing to anyone. Another of his works, "The Idiot," is really an apology for the moral essence implanted in every human creature. The last of Dostoevsky's works was the famous "Brothers Karamazoff." In this book he has endeavoured to depict the intellectual progress of the Liberals in Russia, with all their excitement and their revolutionary idealism. The power of this novel is immense; it touches every chord of the human soul and all the information concerning the contemporary life of Russia, moral, intellectual, and social. The legendary episode of the Inquisition contains the most powerful pages that had been written by any Russian author up to that time.

In his writings, after a scrupulous analysis of man's soul, Dostoevsky decides to forgive everyone and pardon every crime. His novel contains but few descriptions of the external things of this world, and that is why I doubt whether this treasure of thought, without external beauty, could be accessible to the reader in Western Europe. To sum up, he was a man subject to semi-hallucinations, with a most

marvellous power of observation and not less wonderful inspiration, guided by a sort of permanent mysticism. He had a noble mind and a proud spirit, although he was of plebeian birth. In the whole field of our contemporary literature there is only one man—Tolstoy—who, perhaps, stands a step above him.

Count Leon Tolstoy was also a mystic and a preacher in the last years of his life, but of a quite different sort. Tolstoy began by being an artist, then evolved into a thinker, and ended by being a preacher. His literary career is still in everyone's mind, and therefore it seems needless to describe or criticize him; let each one retain his own opinion concerning him.

The exact opposite of Dostoevsky, who was generally ill and physically weak, Tolstoy was well known all his life for his extraordinary strength, physical, intellectual, and moral. This strength is felt in all his writings, and it was only when his physical strength began to give way on account of age that his literary strength began to waver too. His style, descriptions, bold plots, and deep thoughts are quite unique, and the works of the first half of his literary career, such as "*Childhood and Youth*," "*Memoirs of the Crimean*," "*War and Peace*," and "*Anna Karenina*," are one and all *chefes d'œuvres*. No one has attained that artistic fulness in the nineteenth century. The study of human nature reached its highest point in his masterpiece of 1875—"Anna Karenina." After that work Tolstoy was no more the same artist, and the thinker-philosopher took the first place. All hope of a continuance of the fine work which had raised him so high seemed lost, and Tourgeneff, lying on his death-bed, sent him this eloquent appeal: "My friend, come back to your literary work! That gift has been sent to you by Him who gives us all things! My friend, great writer of our Russian soil, grant this prayer of mine." The prayer was granted. Tolstoy appeared to bow before the parting wish of his great rival. Although his mental crisis, the date of which was in 1875, left on Tolstoy an imperishable mark,

still all of us welcomed him back on reading those new pearls of his such as the "Kreutzer Sonata," "The Power of Darkness," and especially "Resurrection."

But from 1880 onwards, after his famous "confession," Tolstoy again abandoned his purely artistic work and gave himself up more and more to his new religious preaching: "Don't resist evil." With his usual titanic strength and example, he carried thousands of young people away with him; but his theories, though picturesque, clear and strong, gave nothing new to his followers.

In 1894 Tolstoy spoke of Christianity not as a mystic religion, but as a new Theory of Life, with the candid acknowledgment that numerous letters from Methodists and Quakers had informed him that his teaching had long been known and disseminated under the name of "spiritual Christianity."

In spite of that, Tolstoy did not even then suspect the contradiction and the childishness which mark this new attempt, in which he comments on the sacred text, denounces all previous commentaries as sacrilegious, and bases on it an attack on the authority of the Church.

It seems to me to be an undeniable fact that Tolstoy as artist is far greater than Tolstoy as preacher and philosopher. In all his artistic writings he has created endless new types, new forms and epochs, whereas in his philosophy he upset and destroyed many ideals, but built up no new ones to replace them. Tolstoy's influence as philosopher was more or less forced on people. His influence as artistic writer was irresistible; there he was in his element! But, strange to say, Tolstoy has not founded any literary school. As to his religious followers, they have all turned back to the teaching of conscience and the New Testament, in order not to remain fruitless and passive lookers-on in life.

From the human point of view Dostoevsky, preaching on universal forgiveness, seems nearer our hearts than the famous doctrine of Tolstoy: "Do not resist evil."

CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

Gontcharoff partly, and Grigorovitch especially, are our last widely read authors, though after them comes a series of talented men such as Tchekhoff, Korolenko, Gorky, Merejkovsky, Andreieff, Kuprin, Sollogub; poets Odоеvsky, Nadson, Fet, Balmont, Sofanoff, Kupernik, and two philosophers, Solovieff and Michailovsky, etc. But of course their importance is far less great; they have replaced classical literary strength with symbolism, materialism, and a strongly political tendency. Many of these authors do not in the least appeal to readers who seek in literature not so much political propaganda and party tendency, as deep psychology, beauty of form, and interesting "parables" and "synthesis."

We have also several classical writers of lyrics, such as Count Kutuzoff, Grand Duke Constantine, Maykoff, Fet, and although very graceful in style they add nothing to existing thought. There are some translations of their poetry.

Our historical and periodical literature is interesting just now. I grant that, on the one hand, even among modern novelists and poets there are some who do honour to our present literature, but it is doubtful whether even the best of their literary gems will outlive their authors. They cannot be compared with others whose works are transmitted from generation to generation, and will always serve as examples of literary truth and beauty; on the other hand, I must remark with regret that, abroad, it is not our classical and well-known authors that are read, but the contemporary Russian writers. Among them some have not yet spoken their last words, and others display ultra-modernism, and even sometimes a credulity and a cynical style which is not always appreciated by the more cultured of Russian readers.

In England, among the best authorities on Russian contemporary literature are Stephen Graham, F. P. Marchant, Mrs. Howe, and a few others, who are writing a great deal on authors and their present train of thought. Stephen Graham

has travelled a great deal in every part of Russia, and had the opportunity of approaching the soul of our modern people, therefore one must await in the near future great results from his continual efforts to penetrate the spirit of real Russian aspirations and ideals. One must hope that he will broaden his now somewhat undecided outlook on the Russian life, which idealizes the peasants' spiritual state of mind. Stephen Graham is still a young psychologist and therefore his conclusions on Russian tendencies do not always coincide with the history of the whole of the Russian nation. Here is a brief example of one of the writers of to-day:

I've come into this world to see the sun,  
The flowers, and the sea;  
I've come into this world to see the sun,  
The mountains, and the lea !  
I am the sovereign of all on earth,  
The master of the world.  
I fear not life; I fear not cruel death  
And its oblivion cold.

My songs have sprung from suffering acute,  
But mankind loves my strain,  
And hearkens, breathless, when I take my lute.  
To sing of joy and pain !

I've come into this world to see the sun,  
And if the light goes out,  
I'll sing, I'll sing, about the glorious sun  
Until my eyes are shut !

BALMONT  
(Translated by O. VITALI).

### CONCLUSION

To sum up the principal facts, the periods of our literature are in close touch with the different changes in our political life, and reflect the social emotions. Real literature, as it is understood in the west of Europe, began in Russia only about 1820—that is, some hundred years ago. Without referring any more to the talents or importance of our nineteenth-century writers, I must point out their special characteristics:

*Firstly*, preponderance of psychology over the appeal to the concrete; *secondly*, romanticism nearly always accompanied

by realism; *thirdly*, irony and satirical doctrines without sarcasm; *fourthly*, "democratism," which I will now briefly explain. With the exception of Pushkin and Tourgeneff, all our other writers and poets took their heroes from the lower peasant classes, in which, owing to their primitive state, they found more individualistic and interesting types. Also most of the writers themselves rose out of these simple classes. Even Count Tolstoy finds his true hero with invariable delight amongst the plebeians.

Many consider the present period of Russian literature to be one of decadence, but all its symptoms coincide with the general trend of European literature at present.

This is true not only of literature, but also of music, painting, and sculpture. It seems to be a transitory time everywhere. I do not know how long this period will last, but we seem just now to be aiming for something new, yet plodding always in the same place.

It would take too long to give the reasons of this unfavourable metamorphosis of human creation, but it seems to me that science itself and its progress have tended to a great extent to atrophize our former inspirations.

The wonderful progress in electricity, telephones, telegraphs, motor-cars, etc., adds to the comforts of life, but at the same time it militates against contemplation, the study of nature, and the serenity necessary for great literary achievement—that is to say, it is alien to what is needed for the development of the artistic and literary sides of life. We tire our brain-centres with all the bustle of every-day existence and leave them too tired to work out spiritual and artistic questions. It may be that, in the generations to come, our brains will have got accustomed to live in this atmosphere of lightning progress, and will again find an outlet for our thoughts in the contemplation of higher and more beautiful things. Let us hope so!

## A RUSSIAN CRUSADER AND A EUROPEAN STAR

(MME. SHROEDER DEVRIENT)

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF.

THE world will not cease to develop itself till the moment of the Last Judgment. A man, according to ancient Greek teaching, ought to study and improve till the last moment of his life; but a girl's education is supposed to finish when she attains a marriageable age. Thus, when I was on the point of reaching that blessed epoch of my life, I was taken to Dresden to "finish" my intellectual and artistic school.

A teacher of singing was secured without delay, and he introduced mother and myself to several musical circles. Invited to one of these centres, we arrived one evening at the appointed hour, and were told by the musical hostess that the famous Mme. Shroeder Devrient was expected, and had even promised to give one or two songs for the benefit of the young artists *in spe*. But the impatiently awaited star seemed to have forgotten her promise, and we commenced to amuse ourselves with a beautiful chorus from Mendelssohn's "Elijah."

I thought we were singing rather well, considering that we had never before sung it together and had had no rehearsal. Suddenly an angry, scolding voice sounded behind our backs: "Why do you shut your mouths? How can you produce proper tones when your lips are closed? Do you imagine *you are singing*?" The company only smiled, but I felt rather shocked and humiliated by this tone of contempt, and turned brusquely towards the arrogant intruder. . . . She then stopped and regarded me with interest. How long that exchange of mutual examination continued I do not exactly remember, but suddenly she exclaimed:

"Are you a Russian?"

"Yes, madame," replied I.

"From Moscow?"

Same polite reply from me.

"Did you know Alexis Kireeff?"

"He was my father. He died when I was quite a child," answered I with emotion, for I had loved him above all the world.

"What a wonderful likeness! It is just as if he stood before me," muttered she to herself, regardless of those who stood around. At that moment supper was announced, and we adjourned to another room.

I then guessed that I had been speaking to the famous Shroeder Devrient, though she was much older in appearance than in the portrait which never left my father's table. Needless to say, how impatiently I awaited the promised song of the great artist; instead of which she suddenly became perfectly still, and told her hostess that she could not sing that night.

"The sight of that young girl brings back to me important moments of my life, and I cannot sing to-night." Thus the only chance of hearing the "divine singer," as she was described by her worshippers, was lost to me. She had brought with her a large basketful of the ribbons with printed dedications addressed to her which had been attached to her bouquets. She fell ill, and after a couple of months died.

At an advanced age she had married (for the third time) a man from our Baltic provinces, Mr. de Bock. "A late marriage," observed a cynic, "is a public confession of a sinful youth." And I think it probable that she had led a rather Bohemian life, as though she never cared what people thought and said of her.

Whether she liked or disliked the Jews I do not know, but that she failed to observe all Moses' Commandments, especially the seventh (or the eight, according to the new calculation defended by some scholars), is, I think, beyond doubt! One of her earliest admirers was Beethoven. Having written his "Fidelio," he was in despair not to find a voice capable of executing the chief part in that Opera. At last a young girl of sixteen was introduced to him; it was the little Shroeder, and then he had the joy to find his Leonora. The number of her admirers was countless, and ranged from Weber to Wagner.

But to return to early days. It happened that my father was then a student in the Leipsic University, and had fallen under her despotic spell. Meeting a man of mature years who spoke disparagingly of her, my father exclaimed: "How dare you speak in that way? I cannot tolerate such infamous calumnies." The other interrupted the young modern Crusader, then hardly more than twenty years of age: "But I know her better than you do," observed he smilingly. Upon which my father, with Russian impetuosity, threw his glove in the speaker's face. A duel resulted. My father was wounded, and bore a slight mark on his face all his life. He kept Shroeder Devrient's portrait in his room to the day of his death. What my mother thought of that unexpected meeting I never knew!

OLGA NOVIKOFF (*née* KIREFF).



## RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA

(A BRIEF SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY, AND  
COMMERCIAL FUTURE)

BY THE EDITOR

EVER since the welcome foundation of the Anglo-Russian Entente, which has so dramatically ripened into the closest alliance, very little has been written of the development of the great Russian province of Turkestan. And yet it may be said that no province of Russia was so directly affected by the substitution of harmony for friction between the two great Asiatic Powers. There was now no longer any reason for the strict military régime which had existed in the eighties. The authorities could, on the contrary, turn their thoughts to the commercial development of the new province, to the encouragement of its old art and industries, to the introduction of modern institutions and improved systems of irrigation and agriculture. In fact, just previous to the War it was even proposed to apply the system of the Zemstvo. It may therefore be of interest to recall briefly some of the leading features in the history and ethnology, as also the future possibilities of what is now generally known as Russian Central Asia. In area about half the size of India, being just short of a million square miles, it is made up of the provinces of Ferghana, Samarkand, Semirietshansk, Syr-Daria, and Transcaspia, together with the "vassal States" of Bokhara and Khiva, which are ruled over by Emirs. Together, these comprise the Government-General of Turkestan.

*Early History.*—The original inhabitants were undoubtedly Aryans who began to be subjected to Mongol invasions about the third century A.D. They have always been closely bound to their soil and accustomed to bring their produce to the cities, whereas the Mongol invaders have never quite thrown off their nomad habits.

The Mongol penetration appears to have been gradual and lasted through four centuries. With the arrival of the Osman Turks the Iranian or Aryan rulers found it no longer possible to maintain their civilization and culture, and the land did in truth become the "Turk-land" or "Turkestan." Passing on rapidly, we find that in the thirteenth century the Usbek princes (who were connected with the Golden Horde) ruled the land. The best known of these was of course Timur (1333-1405), who could trace back his descent to Genghis Khan, the Mongolian prince (1150-1227). To Timur are due the glorious monuments of Samarkand and other Turanian cities. That may be described as the Golden Age of pre-Russian Turkestan.

*The Russian Advance.*—Turning now with more detail to the Russian conquest, we find that Peter the Great, who opened the window on the Baltic with such great success, tried to perform the same operation in the opposite direction. In 1711 he sent General Bekowitch-Tsherkassky to force his way through to Khiva. In that he was unsuccessful, but he succeeded in detaching the Kirghiz tribes, who used to owe allegiance to the Khan of Bokhara. About the same time Omsk was occupied. In 1730 a second expedition, this time based on Orsk, which is situated to the east of Orenburg on the Ural River, also proved abortive. It was then decided to trust rather to steady pressure and cautious progress. Thus two lines of advance were traced: the "Orenburg line," pointing south-east, and the "Siberian line," aiming south-west. In 1839 the admirable policy of Catherine the Great and Alexander I. was departed from, with the result that General Perowski suffered the fate of General Bekowitch. Thereupon a strong fort was built at Uralsk in 1845; at the same time the "Siberian line" was advanced to the outskirts of Wyermyi. One unfortunate result of the defeat of General Perowski, which proved a great blow to Russian prestige, was the defection of the Kirghiz tribes and the Khan of Kokand; in fact, the latter now proved to be much the most redoubtable foe. However, his stronghold Ak-Metchetj was captured

in 1853, and renamed Perowsk ! It now remained to carry out the last part of the original programme so wisely adopted by the great Catherine—viz., unite the Siberian line (now at Wyermyi) with the Orenburg line. This was achieved by the conquest of Pishpek, Tchimkent, and Anlie-ada. In 1865 the Khans of Bokhara and Kokand formed an alliance and planned a converging march on Tashkent. However, General Tshernaiev by a bold stroke captured the town before they could unite, and advanced to Tchinas, on the Syr-Daria, an important junction of caravan routes. In the year of Sadowa the Emir of Bokhara suffered a signal defeat, and General Romanowsky occupied Khojend, which gave him the command of the Ferghana Valley.

*The Russian Province.*—Next year General Kaufmann was appointed first Governor-General of the newly created province of Turkestan. He acted with great energy, captured the famous city of Samarkand, and, leaving a small garrison there, pursued the enemy as far as Katty-Kurgan. There he received news that great enemy forces had gathered in his rear and were threatening the little garrison with destruction. His relief of the town is one of the most thrilling episodes of Russian history. All resistance was now broken. Three vassal States were formed : Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand. The last of these, owing to the persistent misrule of the Khan, was converted in 1876 into the province of Ferghana.

Later, the brilliant Skobeleff subdued the last enemy, the Turcomanni, by capturing their stronghold, Goek Tepe. In 1884 the important oasis of Merv was added, and the Russian armies were pushed as far as the Kusch. The work was now completed, and if the immense difficulties of distances, the precariousness of the lines of communication which lay through deserts, the embarrassing tactics of a foe who knew all the ground, are taken into full consideration, it may be said that it was one of the greatest achievements of military history.

It has been stated that the original inhabitants of Turkestan were Indo-Germanic, and suffered invasion from the Mongols. The present population, though greatly varied in character,

is in fact composed of these two constituents. On the one hand there are the Tadjiks : original Iranians who fled into the Pamirs at the time of the Turkish invasions, and are attached to the soil. Their occupation is agriculture, and it is to their initiative that the native irrigation work is attributed. They number about 400,000 and speak a Persian idiom. At the other end of the scale we have the Kirghisians, who are pure Mongols, and whose language is pure Turkish. This is particularly the case with the Kara-Kirghisians, living in the Pamir-Orlai. They are herdsmen and emerge every spring from their Kishlan (winter quarters) to the Dshailan (mountain pastures). Lighter in complexion and also of a more nomad disposition are the Kasak Kirghisians, who live in the plains. Between these two extremes are at least five other races, mixtures of Mongolian and Iranian, which may now be briefly summarized. The Sarts form three-quarters of the population, and are described by all travellers to Turkestan. They like nothing better than being in the bazaars, are Mohammedans, and have adopted the Turkish language. If the Sarts are chiefly the servants, the Ouzbeks are as a rule aristocrats ; in fact, the reigning houses of Turkestan always called themselves "Ouzbeks." They now live chiefly in the vassal States. The Tarantshis came across from Khasgari in the eighteenth century, hastened on their way by the Chinese Government. They settled in the Ili valley. There also are the Hungarians, who wear Chinese dress, but are Mohammedans. The Turcomans used to be robbers pure and simple ; however, the Russians are gradually making them settle down. They also are a race mixture, speak a Turkish idiom, and profess Mohammedanism. Their women do not veil themselves, and enjoy considerable liberty. The Turcomans are to be found chiefly at Merv and in the oasis of Achal, and number 400,000.

The distribution of these various races is indicated in the accompanying table (in thousands) : \*

\* Voieikov : "Turkestan Russe," pp. 120, 124.

	Rus- sians.	Tadjiks.	Sarts and Ouzbeks.	Turco- mans.	Kirghiz.	Natives.
Syr-Daria -	32	5	249	4	707	—
Samarkand -	18	270	635	—	73	—
Ferghana -	7	83	766	—	135	—
Transcaspia -	97	21	3	650	194	—
Semirietchansk -	25	—	—	—	—	1,200
Khiva -	4	—	—	—	—	800
Bokhara -	10	—	—	—	—	1,500

There is, however, proportionately, a very large population in the towns as the following list shows (in thousands) : Tashkent, 272 ; Kokand, 114 ; Samarkand, 94 ; Namangan, 73 ; Osh, 51 ; Margelan, 46 ; Kodshent, 40 ; Wiernyi, 40 ; Merv, 16 ; Skobelev, 16.

The commercial possibilities of Central Asia are very great, at present, however, only about 23,000 square miles are under cultivation. Even of these nine-tenths have been brought to their present state of fertility through artificial irrigation. It is calculated that through a better use of the rivers this area might be doubled, but this work would entail considerable expense, which at present, of course, cannot be entertained. Taking the interior of the Transcaspian region first, we find that it is nearly all waste land. The most fertile parts are in the state of Khiva, but even here only six per cent. of the area is cultivated. The capital, Kunja-Urgandj, now has only 6,000 inhabitants, a state of affairs which is partly due to the alteration in the course of the River Amu-Daria. The fortress-like farms of the State recall more bellicose times. Outer Transcaspia is, however, much more hopeful. There the inhabitants can count on the moisture brought by the mountains of Kopet-Dagh and Pamir-Alai, and cultivation is facilitated by the long-practised system of irrigation. Among the products of the soil are grain, beans, peas, sesame, hemp, spices, lucerne (very valuable in a land that is lacking in good pasturage), cotton, mulberry-trees, melons, tobacco, fruit. On the other hand, a great proportion of the food is consumed in Central Asia itself, though the construction of the Orenburg-Tashkent line has caused the export of a considerable amount of grapes.

But the two most valuable products are undoubtedly silk and cotton. In fact, it is hoped that once direct railway connection with Siberia has been established, it will be possible to devote all the available land to the encouragement of these two industries, and secure food supplies from more northern provinces of far-flung Russia. Russia uses every year about twenty-one million puds of cotton, and grows at present only about eleven million puds. There ought to be a great future for cotton-growing in Central Asia. The same may be said of the silk industry. Unfortunately, silk manufacturers from Europe made a practice of carrying off cocoons by the thousands, and nearly ruined this important industry altogether. Through the efforts of General Kaufmann this pilfering was arrested, and the Russian Government with commendable energy induced experts to come and settle in the country. Chief among these was M. Aloisé, who came from France with 500 boxes of eggs, and has devoted his time to the work ever since, and is now known to all as "le roi des grains."

In the bazaars of the towns fine examples of native skill and art in silk, cotton, fur, leather, and metal goods are numerous. In Ferghana there is considerable mineral wealth, especially coal and naphtha.

The colonization of the Transcaspian region with Russians has not made much progress. In all, there are about 60,000 Russian peasants settled in the four provinces, and they are distributed in 145 villages.

In Central Tienshan, which is chiefly populated by Tarantjis, there are double the number of Russian colonists, especially numerous in the province of Semirjebjensk. As a consequence the Russian Bishop resides not at Tashkent, but at Wiernyi. Besides agriculture there is a considerable amount of pasturage available, the great need of Turkestan.

Lastly, the upper Tienshan and Pamir-Alai can point to mineral wealth; moreover, the Kirghiz traverse this region with their flocks. There is a colony of Russian peasants at Prjewalsk on the Issykull.

## CORRESPONDENCE

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### "A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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#### INDIAN WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

It is only recently that I have seen the full account of Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper on Indian Weights, Measures, and Money read before the East India Association in December last, and trust that it is not too late to enter a protest against the method in which the work of the Weights and Measures Committee has been treated. This method is that of the advocate, and the paper contains not a little of the "*petitio falsi et suppressio veri*" of the professional advocate, not to mention also a certain amount of the abuse of the other side to which advocates occasionally resort—usually for lack of any better argument. The lecturer stigmatizes the proposals as "neither unanimous nor practical," and states that "the President issued a report subject to minutes of dissent from the two members." From the rest of his lecture it would never be inferred that Mr. Rustomji's objections were not by any means against the system proposed, but against certain procedure, on the ground that this procedure was too drastic, and would result in too vigorous an enforcement of the proposed system. I note that Mr. Rustomji's name is printed in the report as having signed "subject to a minute of dissent." To the best of my recollection that is due to a printer's error. I cannot be certain, as, having been posted to the charge of the Gorakhpur district (the second largest in India, with a population of over three and a quarter millions) immediately after finishing the Report, I was unable myself to correct the proofs of the Report. In any case, Mr. Rustomji wrote no formal minute of dissent; his objections were embodied in the body of the Report. (See in particular para. 41 of Chapter VI.)

The lecturer has abused the proposed table of weights, and holds them up to great ridicule. Abuse and ridicule are easy and cheap. But would it not have been fairer to have given the majority of the Committee credit for at least some sense, and to have pointed out that the basis of the proposals was the fact, which I think any dispassionate study of the

evidence must be held to prove, that this set of weights was that which was by far the best known when the whole of India was considered? Would it not have been fairer to have pointed out that the 180-grain tola was (see the top of p. 148 of the Report) the one common unit of weight throughout a very large part of India, as well as being the weight of the rupee? The ability to check weights by means of rupees was of comparatively minor importance. The important point is that *the weight of the 180-grain tola is known and recognised throughout almost the whole of India.*

I have seen it implied in some comments on this paper, though not by the lecturer himself, that my preference for the system proposed was due to a classical training and ignorance of science. May I be allowed, therefore, to point out that I took my degree at Cambridge in Science and also hold the B.Sc. degree of the London University, and that in any extensive calculations I invariably convert weights or measures into decimals? Personally I prefer a decimal system; that I came to agree with Mr. Rustomji that the one proposed by the majority of the Committee was the most suitable one for India, if a uniform system is to be adopted within a reasonable period, was solely the result of the evidence we received, summaries of which are given in Chapters IV. and V. of the Report. And here possibly the experience of the various members as set forth on p. 6 of the Report might be considered, so that the opinions may be properly weighted. I do not wish to be thought to imply that District experience is better than Secretariat—it requires experience of all sorts to make a sound Committee—but I do think that men with extended District experience are more likely to know what is practically possible in rural tracts—which, be it noted, form 90 per cent. of India, instead of, as in England, less than 40 per cent.—than men with mainly Secretariat experience.

As regards the possibility of introducing the metric system, and its progress in other countries, the lecturer has given a long list of countries in which it has been introduced; some information will be found on p. 147 of the Report as to how far such introduction has at present been genuine. The majority of the Committee would have discussed the feasibility of introducing this system in India at greater length had they had the advantage of seeing Mr. Campbell's note, or learning his views before signing the Report. (See note on p. 169 of the Report, which shows that this minute was handed in "after the Report had been signed, and with no previous suggestion that any such dissent was contemplated.")

The reason why the majority of the Committee proposed the system they did was that they did not think anything better was practical politics within a reasonable period. As a result of forty years or more, the use of the system proposed—i.e., the "railway weights"—had become well known in the larger part of India, and at least understood in other parts. To introduce the metric system would mean "scrapping" all the progress effected by this means. There seemed no immediate likelihood of England adopting the metric system, and for India to adopt it when England did not seemed to the majority of us decidedly illogical, and



certainly, to myself, to be detrimental to British trade. In short, I considered that the system proposed was the line of least resistance, and the one likely to give most easily that for which there was clearly a widespread demand.

If it were decided to adopt the metric system, we should have to begin over again much where we were when the railways adopted the eighty-tola seer. Progress would doubtless be considerably more rapid if proper methods were made use of, but it must inevitably be much less rapid than if the system proposed were adopted.

Whether in the light of subsequent events, and of the possibility of England herself adopting the metric system before long, it will not be advisable for India to go on as she is at present for a few more years, and then, as soon as England has definitely decided on adopting the metric system, introduce measures to follow suit, is a question worthy of consideration. There was not much prospect of anything of the sort when the Report was written, and it would have been fairer of the lecturer to have pointed this out.

The lecturer has stated that there is no apparent reason why Burma should not have been included with India. I do not think that he can have read the digest of the Burma evidence, or he must surely have seen that this course followed necessarily on the adoption of the "railway weights" for India. These weights the lecturer will surely agree to be of such a character as not to be enforced where there is no good reason for adopting them!

The lecturer's examples of diverse weights in the three Presidencies strike me as unfortunate. The Committee published as part of their report as complete a set of the weights and measures of every district in India as they were able to collect. These tables cover 460 foolscap pages, but I nowhere remember a seven-pound seer. The most usual seer in Bombay is equal in weight, or very nearly so, to the pound avoirdupois, and when not so it is exactly half the Bengal seer. The "guz" is now almost universally exactly equivalent to the yard English. Weights and measures showing much more appalling variations and apparent impracticabilities occur in large numbers—surely accurate examples might have been selected.

Lastly, the lecturer lays great stress on the ease with which decimal money was introduced into Ceylon. He has omitted to point out the all-important fact that no change was made in the value or weight of the rupee. I have little doubt that the rupee could be as easily decimalized in India; this operation would leave unchanged that fundamental unit, the rupee weighing one tola of 180 grains, which was the chief fact on which the system of weights and measures proposed by the Committee was based. It is when it is desired to upset or alter this that difficulties begin.

C. A. SILBERRAD

(Late President, *Weights and Measures Committee*).

GORAKHPUR,  
U.P., INDIA.

April 6, 1917.

## TO THE EDITOR, "ASIATIC REVIEW"

REFERRING to the comments of Sir Guilford Molesworth in his supplementary note on "Indian Railway Policy" on the facts I submitted on that subject, I trust that in conformity with its admirable motto, "A fair hearing and no favour," the ASIATIC REVIEW will give insertion to the following observations. Sir Guilford asserts that I am in error in basing comparisons on bare results and crude statistics. The facts I submitted showed that the duty per ton of coal consumed on the Company lines was 72 per cent. greater than on the State lines, and that for every rupee of maintenance expenditure the Company lines hauled 56 per cent. more gross ton miles than the State lines; but, says Sir Guilford, my crude statistics were brought forward without intimate knowledge of the numerous factors affecting the problem; he says that my comparison is untenable because on frontier lines gradients are excessively heavy and curves of sharp radius. He, however, omits to mention that they carry an inconsiderable part only of State line traffic, also that the great bulk of the State line traffic between Karachi and the Irrigation Colonies and via Delhi or Saharanpur to Mogal Serai is hauled over dead level country, aggregating some 2,500 miles, without a hillock so high as Primrose Hill, whereas it is impossible to find an equal extent of plane country on any of the Company lines or all of them put together. Almost the whole of the long-distance traffic of the East Indian Railway, which railway Sir Guilford says works under more favourable conditions than any other in the world, has to surmount the considerable inclines and curves of the grand Chord and Chord lines. "By their fruits shall ye know them." I venture to prefer my facts to "factors" based on vague generalities of questionable pertinence.

I further pointed out that the East Indian Railway is handicapped by 200,000,000 ton miles' preponderance of up over down traffic, proving that the character of the East Indian Railway is to this extent, not, as Sir Guilford asserts, "exceptionally favourable to full loads in both directions"; but he states that such preponderance of up traffic, which was a very conservative estimate of pre-war excess, is only one thirty-sixth part of the total ton mileage of all goods traffic of the East Indian Railway. In 1914-15 the total net ton mileage was 4,767 millions, of which 200 millions is one twenty-fourth part, or 50 per cent. greater than the fraction quoted by Sir Guilford, and of this the coal traffic is carried at the exceptionally low average rate of 0.17d. per ton per mile.

Putting the East Indian Railway out of court, Sir Guilford invites comparison between the Madras (Company) line and the Rajputana Malwa Railway State line, which he says is infinitely superior in respect of working expenses, and returns on capital. This may be so, but as the Rajputana Malwa Railway is and has for many years been worked by one of the guaranteed railways, its infinitely superior working must go to the credit of company management.

BRADFORD LESLIE.

10, HOBART PLACE,  
May 14, 1917.

## INDIAN WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

A REJOINDER TO MR. SILBERRAD'S NOTE, BY SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH

MR. SILBERRAD has taken exception to my statement that the conclusions of the Committee of which he was the President were "*neither unanimous nor practical.*"

In order to understand the subject, it must be borne in mind that the Committee consisted of only three members, including the President, and consequently each member represented one-third of the Committee.

The Report was subject to a minute of dissent from two members, or two-thirds of the Committee. One of the members (Mr. A. Campbell, I.C.S.) not only dissented, but completely demolished the conclusions and recommendations of the President, stigmatizing his proposed measures as complicated, unintelligible, and unsuited to the classes that formed the bulk of the population. He further pointed out that they would be of no assistance in foreign trade, or in the industrial development of the country. He deprecated a separate system of weights for Burma, strongly advocated the adoption of the metric system, which the President had rejected, and refuted the arguments on which that rejection was based. Mr. Silberrad has made no allusion in his note to this serious want of unanimity, but has endeavoured to explain away the words "subject to a minute of dissent" by ascribing their insertion to a printer's error. But they are wholly out of character with an ordinary printer's error; moreover, they are in a prominent position not likely to be overlooked, following immediately after the signature of the President, and just before the signatures of the two members, which are bracketed together. Even admitting Mr. Silberrad's explanation, the strong condemnation of the proposed measures by Mr. Campbell (one-third of the Committee) fully justifies my statement that the conclusions of the Committee were neither unanimous nor practical.

With reference to Mr. Silberrad's complaint, that I have abused his table of weights and held it up to ridicule, I may say that my "abuse" was confined to the following paragraph:

"It is difficult to conceive anyone seriously recommending the adoption of this octo-tertio-quinto-sextodecimo-quadragesimal jumble while rejecting the simple decimal metric weights."

The objectionable epithet which seems to have aroused Mr. Silberrad's ire has been used in following the method employed by Professor de Morgan, who in describing a multi-numeral system stigmatized the monetary system of England as "a quarto-duodecimo-vicesimal currency."

My criticism was very mild when compared with that of Mr. Campbell (Mr. Silberrad's colleague), who spoke of the table of weights as being complicated, unintelligible, and unsuited to the classes that form the bulk of the population, etc.

The following table speaks for itself, in justification of my so-called "abuse":

8 khaskhas = 1 chawal.	3 mashas = 1 tank.	16 chataks = 1 seer.
8 chawals = 1 ratti.	4 tanks = 1 tola.	40 seers = 1 maund.
8 rattis = 1 masha.	5 tolas = 1 chatak.	

Some of these are not represented by tola weight, but by grains of rice, or by poppy or other seeds.

I venture to remark that this table, involving as it does a hash of the numerals 3, 4, 6, 8, 16, and 40, fully justifies my criticism, especially when compared with the simple 10 on which the rejected metric system is based. Some of the terms of this table scarcely extend beyond the limits of the United Provinces, from which they have been drawn; and are unknown in the Madras, Bombay, or Bengal Presidencies, in Orissa, Assam, or Burma. The "railway weights" (eighty-tola seers) are, as Mr. Silberrad says, well known in the larger part of India, but their use is chiefly confined to railway freights, and they have not been generally adopted in the retail trade of native bazaars. In fact, the Report of the Committee proves that the weights generally used differ widely from the eighty-tola seer; for example, the Report, after enumerating some twenty districts in Bengal in which a sixty-tola seer is used, adds:

"Various other seers are also used in retail trade—52, 55, 58, 58½, 62, 64, 70, 72, 75, 78, 81, 82½, 85½, 90, 96" (Report of the Committee, p. 38).

The Report also states that in Orissa and Bihar the seer varies from 28 to 132 tolas; in Bombay from 28 to 80; in Assam from 76 to 120. "In Chittagong there are seers of 16, 52, 60, 64, 70, 75, 80, 82, 82½, 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 96, and 100 tolas; while in Chittagong hill tracts, trade in cotton is carried on in different parts by seers of 84, 85, and 120 tolas" (Report, p. 38).

Mr. Silberrad appears to attach undue importance to the tola (or rupee) as a weight. It is only used for weighing silver ornaments, jewellery, and medicines, but not in ordinary bazaar retail transactions, and being subject to wear it is unfit for a standard, some rupees I have weighed having lost as much as eleven per cent. of their original weight. Mr. Silberrad, in reference to my opinion that "there is no apparent reason why uniformity of weights and measures should not prevail throughout the Indian Empire," suggests that I cannot have read the digest of the Burma evidence. He is wrong; I had read it, and have read it again; but I fail to see any reason for a separate system in Burma, and Mr. Campbell takes a similar view.

In defence of his rejection of the metric system, Mr. Silberrad, in the Committee's Report, put forward a few cases of countries in which that system had not been easily or universally adopted; but in all these cases the want of success has been due to the failure of the Government to enforce the law. The numerous official reports that have been received from foreign countries concur in the statement that the metric system has been found to work satisfactorily, to have been an improvement on other existing systems, and that there is no desire to return to them.

Mr. Campbell in his minute of dissent urged that the metric system was easy to learn and to remember; that it was applicable to all commodities, including precious metals and medicines; that it simplified accounts and calculations; that it could be applied to Burma; that it

would be useful in foreign trade and facilitate the industrial development of the country; and he added:

"It appears to me to be eminently desirable that the Government should take steps now, without further delay, to constitute the metric system the uniform system of weights and measures in India. When its use has become established throughout India, the action of Government in introducing it will, I am convinced, be appreciated by all."

GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH.

May 11, 1917.

WESTMINSTER, S.W., 1.

## THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA

SIR,

I have read with great interest the paper on the education of girls in India in the May number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, and it has occurred to me that the writer's historical survey would have been more perfect if she had had access to a book called "Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India," published by Dr. Mullens in 1862. He was in communication with all the non-Roman missionaries in India and Ceylon, and had access to official information at the same time. If Miss Ashworth will refer to pages 74 and 142 she will get a much truer account of the educational effort between 1852 and 1862 than she presented in her paper. Madras was not lagging behind, but was leading the way.

In 1852 there were in India 300 (see page 143) girls' day-schools conducted by missionaries and 102 boarding-schools. These had respectively 11,519 and 2,779 girl pupils. In 1862 the increase of these girls' schools was to 371 and 114 respectively, and of pupils to 15,899 and 4,098. This calculation includes Ceylon, but not Burmah.

In the Madras Presidency in 1862 there were 151 missionary day-schools for girls out of the whole number 371 in the country, and 63 missionary boarding-schools out of a total of 114. These statistics do justice to the Madras effort, which was a greater one than that of any other Presidency.

FRANK PENNY.

3, PARK HILL,

EALING, W. 5.

## A FAMOUS CONTROVERSY

In the memoirs of Mme. Olga Novikoff, allusion is made to a pamphlet entitled "Christ or Moses," to which our esteemed contributor writes the preface, and three letters are included from the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. (This eminent statesman was a life-long and profound theological student, and among his works were "The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture" and an edition of Bishop Butler's "Analogy," while he had an acute controversy with Professor Huxley over the Gadarene swine story.) The authorship of

the pamphlet was a mystery, but now is made known to have been the late Count Keyserling, the distinguished Rector of Jurjew University, and a court dignitary.

The main point of discussion was—Is the doctrine of immortality taught in the Old Testament? The author seems to have come to the definite conclusion that it is *not*; that the ancient Jews had no conception of the hope universally shared by members of the different Christian bodies; that immortality for the Jew meant continuance of his name and family; that Divine rewards and blessings consisted in material prosperity, “every man under his vine and under his fig-tree.” Sons were to grow up as young plants, and daughters as polished corners of the temple, and the possessor of a “quiverfull” would fearlessly face enemies in the gate. When our first parents, in the story of the Fall, ate of the tree of knowledge, they were expelled from Eden, lest man should “take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.” This, according to the author, did not mean “immortality,” but prolongation of material existence. Enoch and Elijah were miraculously removed, but it is hard to see that they were not “immortal” in the usually accepted sense. Such a declaration as that of St. Paul, “If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable,” was foreign to the orthodox Jew. Balaam aspired to die the death of the righteous, and that his last end might be like his. Had he a vision of some future beneficent fate? In the familiar parable of Dives and Lazarus, there is reference to a future state: “Abraham’s bosom” for the man who had suffered evil things in this life, while Dives, from some place of torment, was still able to communicate with their great ancestor across the impassable gulf. (Undoubtedly the once rich man’s concern for his erring brethren, lest they should hereafter share his sufferings, was inspired by a noble motive, which is often overlooked.)

The Appendix contains references, *inter alia*, to the late Dean Farrar’s opinion that the Book of Daniel is a “novel with a purpose,” written to encourage the Maccabees and their countrymen persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes, and to the dogma of Papal infallibility. We are not in a position to handle critically the main point of the discussion, which is probably still open for consideration by specialists, but would offer some hints which may be of interest. What was the nature of the *tree of life* and its fruit, and why was it created? (In the Apocalypse, a “tree of life” stands in the heavenly city by the pure river of water of life, whose twelve manner of fruits ripen monthly, while the leaves are for the healing of the nations.) Our first parents, through their Fall, lost a paradise of rural beauty; but the hope of redemption from the inherited original sin is not back to such a paradise, but forward to a wonderful city, “new Jerusalem,” and glorious, happy fellowship with angels and “spirits of just men made perfect.” (*Passim*, we remember reading that the best ghost story in the world is said to

be the vision of Eliphaz the Temanite [Job. iv. 15], when the visitant said, "Shall mortal man be more just than God?"

In conclusion, Christian missionary effort—easily within living memory, and of which traces still exist—was inspired by a burning sense of personal responsibility and noble endeavour to "save souls" from a hideous fate resembling the Greek Tartarus, to which no limits were fixed and no amelioration possible. Marlowe's Faustus was lost here, and Goethe's Faust, in momentary danger, was saved by the intervention of redeemed Gretchen. Mr. Lecky ("History of Rationalism") discusses this aspiration of many noble natures, and the intensity of terror which the *letter* of the doctrine occasioned in the Middle Ages. A logical outcome was the conviction that *all*, of any race, age, or clime, who had never heard of, let alone accepted, a short and simple formula, were irrevocably doomed to this dire fate, and to save as many as possible was the self-sacrificing impulse which led to martyrdom. Surely all is well with those who gave their lives in this way, though their example is more generally admired than followed. Happily, Christian missionaries have become sympathetic students of other faiths, and are not ashamed to confess that they have learnt much (*e.g.*, a retired missionary from India admitted this to us) from those of ancient spiritual faiths. A kindlier spirit is abroad, and enlightened men would rather lay their heads together in counsel than knock them together in antagonism.

It will be remembered that in a recent number Lieut.-Colonel Waddell promises a work which is to modify and perhaps revolutionize current conceptions of "king" Adam, the overthrower of matriarchy, the Fall, the site of Eden, and old familiar stories. It is hoped that light may be thrown therein on the problems of the "Christ or Moses" controversy.

AJAX.

Besides the letters referred to in the Preface, there are two more letters written by Mr. Gladstone to Madame Novikoff, one of which is particularly interesting. He states therein that his sister, after having been thirty-five years a Roman Catholic, had joined the Old Catholic movement—a movement which was so ardently supported by M. Kiréeff and Madame Novikoff.—A. R.

## THE INDIAN IMPORT DUTIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW."

SIR,

When the Indian import duties on cotton goods were reduced in 1878-9, this sacrifice of revenue elicited the following comment from that pre-eminent Free Trader, Mr. Gladstone:

"With regard to the remission of the import duties, there seems to be something distinctly repugnant in the way it has

been done in the time of India's distress and difficulty. . . . The Governor-General says he cannot see that financial difficulty can in any way be pleaded as a reason against what he calls fiscal reform. If that be a true principle of government, it has been discovered for the first time by the present Viceroy. There has not been a Free Trade Government in this or any country which has not fully admitted that the state of the revenue is an essential element in the consideration of the application even of the best principles of Free Trade."

*Mutatis mutandis*, Mr. Gladstone's views may again perhaps be commended to the attention of our Manchester friends.

Yours faithfully,

H. F. B.

#### WHAT TO DO WITH MRS. BESANT

SIR,

Poor Lord Pentland ! He has been trying to do what no man has ever yet succeeded in doing, and that is, "make a scolding woman hold her tongue"; and, in his effort to accomplish this he has done the very thing the scolding woman wanted him to do. It would seem she has always wanted to be made a Martyr in the hope that if she were lifted up she would draw all India unto her ! So, Lord Pentland has put her on a Mountain-top with her two Fellow-agitators, one on each side of her.

The best thing to do now for the peace of India would be to send her home with all honour, so that she may tell the Secretary of State and the British Public what things are done in Madras.

She ought really (as I ventured to suggest two years ago) to have been made Joint Minister of Education with Sir Santaran Nair, and perhaps it is not yet too late to induce the "Nizam," or "Mysore," or "Baroda," to appoint her to the position of Prime Minister or Devan. Her undoubted talents ought long ago to have been utilized to their fullest extent by the State for the good of the people.

I am,

Yours, etc.,

J. POLLEN.





## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

### THE LATE DADABHAI NAOROJI

THE most remarkable feature of the Memorial Service to honour the life and work of Dadabhai Naoroji, affectionately called the Grand Old Man of India, was the representative and varied character of those who took part in the memorable gathering in London on July 31, or wrote to express their sympathy with its purpose and appreciation of the veteran Parsi, at the mention of whose name all India thrills. The Secretary of State for India wrote to say that pressure of public business prevented his attendance, but he expressed warm sympathy with the object of the meeting. Lord Reay, under whose Governorship of Bombay the help of educated Indians, among them Dadabhai Naoroji, was obtained on his Legislative Council, wrote to express "the greatest regard for his patriotism, for his single-minded devotion to the development of all the best elements in India." He was a loyal subject of the Emperor and an independent thinker, added Lord Reay. Letters were also received from the Solicitor-General (Sir Gordon Hewart, K.C., M.P.), Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Judge Mackarness, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mrs. W. S. Caine, Mrs. N. Blair, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, and others. Among other representative men and women who joined the organizing committee were Lord Lamington, Lord Sydenham, Lord Reay, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Mr. H. G. Wells, Sir John Jardine, M.P., Sir William Bull, M.P., Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., Sir Herbert Roberts, M.P., and other Members of Parliament, also Dr. John Clifford, Mr. T. J. Bennett, Sir Ratan and Lady Tata, Sir Abbas and Lady Baig, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. A. J. Wilson, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, and Mr. George Lansbury; Sir M. M. Bhownaggee was chairman of the committee, and the hon. secretaries included Mr. A. S. M. Anik, Mr. M. H. Isphani, Dr. Kapadia, and Mr. N. C. Sen.

"The Saint and Rishi of Modern India," was Sir William Wedderburn's description of his life-long friend who has so recently passed away in India

at the advanced age of ninety-two, an age rarely reached by Indians. It was evident that the passing of Dadabhai Naoroji had deeply touched Sir William, who travelled from his Gloucestershire home to London on purpose to preside at the meeting. Summing up the lessons of the long life and devoted and determined service of his friend, Sir William urged his hearers to follow in his footsteps in binding together the hearts of India and Britain, and to strive to take to themselves "his qualities of unselfishness, industry, high integrity, and courage, guided and informed by sweet reasonableness."

The resolution fittingly crystallised the life and service of Dadabhai Naoroji. It ran thus: "That this meeting desires to express its profound sorrow and its sense of the irreparable loss caused by the death of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, LL.D., who in the course of an eventful career, extending over the long period of nearly three-quarters of a century, had rendered in manifold ways supreme service in promoting the political, educational, and social amelioration of the people of India, who had been the first among her public men to claim for them the fulfilment of their rights and privileges as citizens of the British Empire, so as to bind them in firmer allegiance to the Crown; and who, by dint of such patriotic labours as well as the noble qualities of his head and heart, had won in an unexampled degree the love and admiration of his countrymen as well as of his numerous British friends." Sir Herbert Roberts, M.P., in moving the resolution, spoke as a Member of Parliament who had worked side by side with Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Indian to be elected, during his Membership of the House of Commons, 1892-1895, and declared that "no better or more patriotic representative of India could have been found." Although his defeat at the subsequent general election was a great disappointment to Dadabhai Naoroji, there was never any bitterness in his heart, nor did it deter him in his devoted work for the welfare of his country. His selfless service, undaunted determination, purity of character, and chivalrous methods of work, were emphasized by Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Dr. John Clifford, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. S. H. Swinney, and Mr. J. M. Parikh, and the resolution was passed by the whole audience standing in silent token of sympathy. Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., in moving that a copy of the resolution be forwarded to the family of the venerable and venerated son of India, said that although he had not come into personal touch with Dadabhai Naoroji, he had been much impressed by documents concerning his work which were to be found in the archives of the India Office. Other speakers who paid tribute to India's "Grand Old Man" were Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. Delgado, and Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, who, speaking as a co-religionist of Dadabhai Naoroji, referred to the fact that the Parsis had already held a meeting commemorating his life and work. The meeting ended with a tender tribute to Sir William Wedderburn, proposed by Sir Mancherjee, and Dr. Pollen declared that very much that had been said of the world-famous Parsi applied equally to his life-long English friend and fellow-worker. Sir William, in reply, expressing his confident belief in the future happiness of India, stated that there had never been a shadow of misunderstanding or difference during half a century of association between him and his saintly

friend, Dadabhai Naoroji. Truly a memorable meeting and a worthy tribute to a remarkable man, who has now passed from the sight but not from the hearts of his fellow-countrymen and his Western friends.

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Mrs. N. C. Sen has followed up her illuminating lecture on her famous fellow-countrymen, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, fully reported in the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, by giving a course of lectures at the School of Oriental Studies on "Indian Family Life." She took her audience back to Ancient India and the Vedic period, when "men and women progressed together along the path of immortality, when they worked and thought together, and were companions in all spheres of life." Through Buddhist days and the period of the Moghul rulers she brought her hearers back to the life of modern India, and gave so much valuable information that Dr. Denison Ross, Principal of the School, said that he wished every British woman going out to India might first come into touch with Mrs. Sen to gain insight, understanding, and sympathy.

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Sapper Stephen Kelley, of the Australian Imperial Forces, evoked widespread interest by the account he gave at a recent meeting of the National Indian Association of his experiences in Gallipoli as a water diviner. An engineer by profession, he found in his early youth in Australia that he possessed remarkable gifts for the discovery of water. He was in the Suvla Bay landing, and when the water problem caused serious anxiety he was able to render great service in discovering water and insuring a good supply for men, horses, and mules. His commanding officer, General Hughes, strongly recommended his services for recognition. He experienced considerable opposition from scientists who declared that the contour of the land showed that no water was available, but Sapper Kelley's best answer to the doubters was a supply, on one occasion, of two thousand gallons per hour. When seeking water he does not use the usual rod or twig, but walks forward with his hands stretched out, palms downwards; sometimes he kneels and places his hands on the ground to verify his sensations. The strength of the sensations enables him to determine the depth at which water will be found and the quantity available.

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Dramatic representation of Indian plays continues, and arouses considerable enthusiasm. Last month, under the auspices of the Union of the East and West, the Indian Art and Dramatic Society gave two performances in the beautiful garden of Lord Leverhulme, at Hampstead, of "Malati and Madhava," written by Bhavabhuti, who lived about 700 A.D., some two centuries after Kalidasa. The play has been called the "Romeo and Juliet" of India; it possesses certain points in common, but by its happy ending and in other ways also recalls "As You Like It." In a quiet and unaffected manner Miss Joyce Carey took the part of Malati, and Mr. Arthur Steed did well as Madhava; Miss Barbara Everest and Mr. Mark Stanley, who has done valuable service with the "Old Vic" Repor-

tory Company, were excellent as the friends of the hero and heroine. Mr. Ben Greet was admirable as stage-manager in grounds which lend themselves well to such productions. Indian music by two of Professor Inayat Khan's musicians added considerably to the success and enjoyment of the performances.

Different in character, but impressive in effect, was the dramatic recital by the Brothers of the Rose Garden, given in the Theosophical Society's temporary hall, Tavistock Square, of "The Song Celestial" ("Bhagavad Gita"). From the beautiful version of Sir Edwin Arnold passages were selected which gave a clear and well-ordered statement of the principal teachings of the poem, presenting a philosophy and religion which may be regarded as the most lofty that Brahmanism has produced.

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Up to the time of writing the Indian Gymkhana Club has achieved a record of three months' matches, with only one defeat. They had a sensational match with an Australian Eleven, ending in a draw: Gymkhana, 160; Australians, with an extra fifteen minutes, 150 for eight wickets. Bajana scored the first century for the Club, and Gunasekra did the "hat trick" on this occasion. At the close the young Australian captain led his men out to the field, and they cheered the Gymkhana with hearty good-will; the Indians returned the compliment with enthusiasm, and the men of India joined with the men of the Overseas Dominions in singing the National Anthem. The events of the afternoon lend a special interest to the return match, still to be played. The Gymkhana has its ground at Mill Hill Park, Acton, and Sir James Walker, who has been a generous supporter, has given a challenge cup, to be competed for annually in the lawn tennis section.

A. A. S.

At the War Exhibition at Plaistow several lectures were given on different Allied countries. Mrs. Carrington Wild told the story of the long mountain tramp of Serbian children to the Adriatic Sea, sent by trusting mothers to meet unknown friends. Fortunately they met with English and French benefactors. Mr. Rostorgueff spoke on Russia, saying that there was reason for hope in spite of their temporary set-back, and that he had confidence in the future. Mr. F. P. Marchant spoke on Bohemia and described her anxiety for the Allies' victory and her hopes for independence. Mr. Stephen Graham described his experiences in the Crimea and his visit to the English cemetery near Sebastopol. The opening ceremony was performed by Lord Burnham.

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A very successful Russian Economic Exhibition is being held at Central Hall, Westminster. It will be open until August 18.

## MILITARY NOTES: MESOPOTAMIA

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

"THAT blessed word Mesopotamia" has of late evoked many curses. To judge by some of the periodicals or listen to the conversation of the man in the street, one might have been led to imagine that the expedition to Mesopotamia had resulted in a complete failure. The fact is that the operations in Mesopotamia have been crowned with more complete success than has attended our efforts in any other theatre of the war; the whole country, including the considerable cities of Bagdad and Basra, has been conquered and occupied by our forces. But one unfortunate episode, the premature attempt to capture Bagdad with inadequate preparation and with an insufficient force, has been made the subject of a Commission of Inquiry, and the report of this Commission has revealed some shortcomings in the system of Indian Army administration, and in the working of the supply and transport services of that Army. The revelation of these failures evoked such a storm of reproaches from the Press and the public that the Cabinet was seriously perturbed, and the Secretary of State for India resigned his portfolio.

The Indian Army was not prepared or organized for a great war; thus, when it had simultaneously to furnish expeditionary forces for France, Egypt, and East Africa, as well as for Mesopotamia, its resources both in men and material were soon exhausted. If Lord Hardinge is to be blamed for the unpreparedness of India for waging war, we can only say that that blame must be shared by many others.

It has been alleged that the advance on Bagdad was a

political manœuvre, arranged by the politicians for political ends. No doubt in military matters the man on the spot is the best and safest judge, and the more things are left in his hands the better ; but in this instance the General in command, Sir John Nixon, was in favour of the advance, so that the Government was justified on military grounds in approving of it. Risks must be taken in war, and a General who runs no risks will not achieve great results. General Nixon no doubt underestimated the strength of the forces opposed to him, and perhaps forgot to take into full account the fact that the operations of the Turkish masses were thoroughly organized.

The tactical operations were brilliantly carried out by General Townshend, who once more proved himself an able and skilful commander under most trying circumstances. His surrender with his gallant division, enforced by famine at Kut, was a great disaster, but it has been avenged by the subsequent conquest of Bagdad by General Sir Stanley Maude's victorious army.

The admitted shortcomings in the transport and in the medical arrangements seem to have been due to lack of funds rather than to lack of foresight. When there was a Madras Army its Commander-in-Chief had a seat in the Governor's Council. The civilian members of the Council regarded the Presidency Army as an inconvenient encumbrance which absorbed funds which were urgently needed for more useful objects, such as education, sanitation, irrigation, etc. Not only was the Army Budget reduced to a minimum, but when any of the civil branches of the Administration had exceeded its limit of expenditure, the excess was often transferred to the Army accounts and shown as an item of military expenditure. Successive Commanders-in-Chief tolerated this unfair procedure without protest, but when Sir Neville Chamberlain assumed command of the Madras Army, he at once put a stop to it. But for examples of parsimony in supplying the necessary needs of an army we need not go so far as India ; we may look nearer home. *It is manifestly unfair to lay the faults of a system upon the shoulders of individuals.*

It has been observed that the removal of the Headquarter Offices of the Bengal Army to Simla synchronized with the deterioration in the discipline of that army which culminated in the general Mutiny some twenty years later ; and in all probability the removal of the Headquarters Staff of the Army from any close contact with the troops was a serious evil, for from a perusal of the records of that period it would appear that the Indian Government and the chief military authorities were (with the single exception of Sir Charles Napier) not sufficiently conversant with the real state of affairs in the Army.

And now the chief defect in the system of Indian Army administration appears to be over-centralization. This probably arises from the natural desire of the officers of the Headquarters Staff at Simla to concentrate all the power and patronage of the army in their own hands. This tendency showed itself in the most flagrant manner in the old Bengal Army before the Mutiny had proved the rottenness of the system. In that army the Colonel of a regiment could not even promote a private to the rank of lance-noik (lance-corporal) without a reference to Simla. Maladministration, pure and simple, was the chief factor in bringing about the collapse of the old Bengal Army system in the great Mutiny of 1857. Up to that time and for fifty years afterwards there were three separate armies in India belonging to the three presidencies respectively of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, each with its own Commander-in-Chief and Headquarter Staffs, Army departments, arsenals, ordnance factories, magazines, etc. Each army had its own separate Code of Regulations, and details of dress, armament, equipment, even of pay and allowances, varied in all three presidencies. The Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army was the titular Commander-in-Chief in India ; but he was only *primus inter pares*, and never interfered in the internal affairs of the other two armies. But after the reorganization which followed on the suppression of the Mutiny of the old Bengal Army, railways and telegraphs brought the three presidencies into closer communication, and the Commander-in-Chief in

India began gradually to usurp the prerogatives of the Chiefs of the two other armies. Rules and regulations were made in Simla and enforced on the armies of the minor presidencies, to which they were sometimes quite unsuited, the men of those armies being of different race and language to those of the Bengal Army. Almost the first step was the establishment of one uniform Code of Articles of War for all the three armies. The ordnance establishments of the three separate armies were merged in one Ordnance Department for the whole of India. Other departments followed suit. Then the presidency armies were abolished, and the three armies formed into four army corps, the Bengal Army being divided into two. This was a good arrangement, as the Commander-in-Chief in India was relieved of the immediate command of any particular body of troops, and had only the four corps commanders to whom to transmit his orders: it is, in fact, the arrangement which prevails in the armies of all the European Powers. But the Simla Staff Officers could not rest till they had gathered up all the threads of Army administration into their own hands. The four army corps were finally amalgamated into one army with its headquarters at Simla. It is true that the Indian Army is nominally divided into a Northern and a Southern Command, but this arrangement is only a nominal one, and the Commands Headquarters are nothing but registering offices, their only practical effect being to delay the transaction of business between the Divisional Headquarters and the Army Headquarters at Simla. The consequence is that the great Headquarters Staff in India is involved in a multiplicity of details and overburdened with much work which ought to be performed by the Corps Staffs.

The luxuriant growth of red-tape which swaddled, and almost throttled, the old Bengal Army was swept away in the maelstrom of the great Munity, and was not regretted, for its pernicious effects had been amply demonstrated by the catastrophe. The new Bengal Army was administered by rule of thumb, and Generals and Colonels were left a free hand in their own commands. But the old influences, apparently



inseparable from the existence of a regular standing army, soon reasserted themselves ; red-tape wriggled in at the office doors, and routine crept forth from its temporary hiding-place. The powers and privileges of the officers commanding troops were one by one withdrawn from them and transferred to the General Staff. The most trivial happenings were incontinently made matters of diffuse regulation.

The following is an amusing instance of the deference of the official mind to a red-tape system. An order had been promulgated that all officers on leave in India were to furnish a life-certificate on the first of every month to the Presidency Paymaster. An officer on leave on the Nilgiri Hills had omitted this formality, and the Presidency Paymaster wrote to him reminding him of his omission. He accordingly furnished a certificate stating that he was alive on the 1st of the current month of June. But the Paymaster wrote back requesting him to forward certificates that he was alive on the 1st of April and the 1st of May. When the Paymaster was rallied by his friends on his meticulous observance of regulations he defended his action by the plea that his office files would have been incomplete without the missing certificates. To his official mind the completeness of his office files was the chief reason for the existence of his office.

## OUR PROBLEM OF ENGLISH POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION\*

BY DOUGLAS JERROLD

THE blessed word reconstruction has enjoyed such popularity of late that politicians of all kinds have felt it their duty to rush into the field with proposals for the destruction of the Constitution. Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Hodge, acting on the well-known principle, call everyone with whom they disagree politicians, while apparently disclaiming the title for themselves. Mr. Hodge goes further, and, profiting by Carlyle's example, is never more verbose than when decrying the value of words. To be fair to Lord George, in his *Reminiscences*, which are at once interesting and most amusing, he expressly includes himself, we need hardly say without reason, in the category of those whose gifts of speech carried them further than their abilities entitled them to go; but the value of his own public services are a sufficient rejoinder. He gives as his deliberate opinion that powers of speech carry men to high office which they do not deserve; and Mr. Hodge hastily endorses his statement, and they both alike point to the soldier as a refreshing contrast to what Mr. Hodge sneeringly calls the "wordster."

"The soldier's career is a truer test of character, reliability, and courage" than the political career. So Lord George Hamilton. This extraordinary prejudice against powers of speech is widespread, and more than anything else tends to shake the public confidence in Parliamentary government; yet one can safely say that behind the written and spoken word on the subject there is no solid or constructive criticism. One cannot speak of a ready tongue as one does of a long nose—a long nose is a physical peculiarity, a ready tongue an intellectual asset. Why, in the name of heaven, do we want to be governed by men with unready tongues? Why, in fact, is the tongue unready, except because the owner doesn't

\* "In the Wake of the War. Parliament or Imperial Government?" By Harold Hodge. (John Lane, 1917.) "Parliamentary Reminiscences." Lord George Hamilton. (John Murray, 1917.)

know what to say? And the man who doesn't know what to say is the man who doesn't know what to think.

The real prejudice against the talker is, of course, not because he can talk (as we see, that would be mere midsummer madness), but because of an alleged distinction between the talker and the man of action. This is based on a belief that a General fights while a Cabinet Minister makes speeches. This, in fact, is not the case. While the politicians talk, the soldiers write minutes. Both are alike men of action, in that they are getting things done through their respective agents. The manual labourer and the private soldier alone act personally.

Must this widespread prejudice be dismissed, then, as entirely baseless? Not perhaps entirely. It originates, we believe, in the psychology of a large number of English public schoolmen, among whom the prejudice is most marked. Men feel strongly on certain points, have been brought up to accept certain political doctrines as axiomatic, and have not been educated to understand the why and wherefore of these doctrines. In other words, however dearly held, they are for them only opinions, not matters of reasoned belief. In Parliamentary debates and discussions in the Press such men find their dearest beliefs challenged and argued out of court by men with glib tongues. These men are not always right, but they know not only what they want but why they want it, and the "plain blunt man" is at a disadvantage. It goes without saying that the remedy for this is the political education of our governing class. What Mr. Hodge apparently wants is a Government consisting entirely of men unable to express themselves, in order that other men, suffering from a similar disability, may not be put out of temper. We do not ourselves regard this as a serious contribution to political science.

But then Mr. Hodge says there is no such thing as political science. We seem to have heard this sort of thing before.

Lord George Hamilton, a critic of a very different stamp, has some more pertinent criticisms. He complains of the superficial knowledge of Ministers and of the neglect of Imperial concerns in the welter of domestic party controversy, and he makes definite proposals: the reform of procedure, educational reform, universal military training, and the fixing of naval and military establishments by quinquennial Acts. For all these measures there is much to be said, but we doubt if they will affect the main issue. Nothing will ever make representative government popular with minorities, and Mr. Hodge and Lord George Hamilton are afraid of being in a minority. Few critics against our system can miss having a dig at party; it is so easy. Lord George Hamilton follows the older and honest course of tarring his old political opponents with every recognized brand of controversial tar, and of this the charge of setting party before country is ever the most popular variety. Mr. Gladstone is a party politician, Lord Beaconsfield a prescient statesman. Perhaps so. But both alike depended on the presence of a Parliamentary majority, and all one can say against the system is that at times it returned A when it should have returned B, and *vice versa*. Any system of government will do that. The great thing to be said for our system was that somebody was always

pleased. We have heard of Governments which subsisted for several centuries, to the intense displeasure of everyone. We fancy that Mr. Hodge's Imperial junta, self-appointed and incapable of dismissal, would be one of these. He suggests that this junta should hold office for ten years and be eligible for re-election, not by any constituencies, but by the Crown, acting on the advice of that inevitable non-party man about the Court who is always the hero in these little essays in Constitution-making. They are to govern by a referendum, but the Empire is to have no right of initiative. India would not be consulted, because "it would be really difficult to make educated Indians understand what a referendum was!" So, poor dears, they could be safely trusted not to notice that they were not being consulted. For this Imperial junta is to govern India, mark you, and control foreign and colonial policy, trade, tariffs, the army and the navy. Social reform would, however, be left to the English and colonial Parliaments—also municipal drainage, we have no doubt!

Mr. Hodge's is altogether a book to be read; it would be unwise to miss a line of it. But political controversy would be easier if writers of such books would be even ordinarily honest with their readers.

If they want to destroy popular government, and want an Executive responsible to no one, why not say so, instead of writing three hundred and fifty pages to prove that oligarchy is true democracy and tyranny the only tolerable form of liberty? It would then be simpler for the old-fashioned believers in a Government which is responsible to the people to set to work to remove the many defects of our present system, which fails, as we had thought all the world knew, not because it is democratic but because it is not.

Silence may be golden, but not in the House of Commons. Half a dozen independent speakers do more good in a month than a whole bench of strong silent men assuring the world that all is going well, and that it can trust the Government. Mr. Hodge's attempt to attack the House of Commons for its verbosity is to make use of the silly prejudice against education to create unpopularity for an institution which he disliked on other grounds.

What he dislikes is the policy of what were before the war a majority of its members. So did we, as a matter of fact. But the remedy for that is not to shut up the House, but to educate the electorate. The days of autocracy are over, we can assure Mr. Hodge, and nothing anyone can do or say will bring them back.

In dealing with Mr. Hodge's amazing theories we have hardly done justice to Lord George Hamilton. His account of his work at the India Office, the Education Office, and the Admiralty is in itself a sufficient answer to those who hold that Cabinet ministers do nothing but talk. His memories of Gladstone and Disraeli are refreshing and amusing, if nakedly partisan, and his criticism of the fatal mistakes of Gladstone's Government in 1880-1885 is interesting if painful reading.

## NEW AND OLD GREECE

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

"M. Venizelos is the least pedantic of men. He is not bound down by any dogma elaborated by his predecessors; but the Alpha and Omega of his faith . . . are an unreserved acceptance of the principles of morality, and a deep love for his country—a great love—a love encompassing his country with ceaseless care, an affection vibrating with passion, not the affection of a child for its mother, but of a mother for her only child. These spiritual characteristics give, in most cases, the key to the understanding of the whole long series of his political actions. . . .

"Venizelos, once clearly convinced that there was no other hope, but that Greece was being carried headlong to certain disaster, had the courage, rising to his full political and moral stature against the official power of the State, to resist in his own person the fatal drift of events."—

ALEX. N. DIOMEDES, *London, February 16, 1917.*

"The existence and honour of Greece have been saved by the swift action of M. Venizelos."—(*From private letter, dated Athens, June 17, 1917, signed P. E. DRAKOULES.*

### IV

GREAT changes have been brought about in the internal affairs of Greece since the publication of the last article on that country in the ASIATIC REVIEW for May 15, 1917.

The state in which Greece found herself before the raising of the blockade was one of extreme misery and of almost complete anarchy. The public services were reduced to chaotic confusion, and when M. Venizelos was once more summoned to Athens, the task that confronted him was one that might have well filled even his stout heart with despair.

The returning Ex-Premier found his house in ruins, razed to

the ground by the fury of the anti-Venizelians, and pending its rebuilding had perforce to take up his abode in the Hotel Grande-Bretagne, formerly given over to the notorious Baron von Schenck.

Not only was his house in ruins, but so were all departments of national affairs, ecclesiastical and judicial as well as financial and political. But, as the Athens correspondent of *Ἡ Ἑσπερία*\* put it, the man who was equal to the task was there to take it in hand, and was moreover capable of inspiring his helpers with his own optimistic zeal and ardent enthusiasm in the tremendous task of reconstruction which must be carried through ere Greece can recover all that has been lost during the last two fatal years of disorder and corruption.

M. Jonnart, the High Commissioner of the Powers, had left Athens at the end of the first week in July, having successfully carried out the mission entrusted to him of persuading King Constantine to acquiesce in the Allies' demand for his abdication. His son Alexander reigns in his stead and M. Venizelos has returned to power.

The High Commissioner has formed a good opinion of the young King, thinks he reasons well and has "a clear idea of the rôle of a constitutional Sovereign."

When M. Jonnart, on the refusal of M. Zaimis to consider the question of convoking the Parliament of May 31 (1915), expressed his opinion that the obvious solution was the formation of a Ministry under Venizelos, the King said :

"I see that. I understand. I suppose it had better be formed as soon as possible."

On the Tuesday following M. Jonnart gave the King the list of Ministers submitted by M. Venizelos. Looking it through, he said :

"That's settled. To-morrow at eleven will do," and the new Ministry was sworn in at eleven that Wednesday morning.

M. Jonnart explains the King's first proclamation as a "good intention badly interpreted," due to the emotion

\* Published in London.

occasioned by the ex-King's followers, who had assembled around the palace.

"Look at that," said Constantine. "I've consented to go, but see the attitude of the people."

It was thought that the best explanation of the situation would be afforded by a proclamation from the new King. This was hurriedly drawn up by M. Nigris, a Minister who happened to be in the palace, and he, in his agitation, thinking of the hero of the late Balkan wars rather than of the ex-King Constantine, made use of the latter's favourite phrase, "following in my father's footsteps." The young King in equal agitation signed and delivered the proclamation to the assembled crowd without having previously read it, a natural and human explanation of an untoward circumstance which should disarm all further criticism.

## V

"Will Greece at last actively participate in the war?" is a question frequently put at the present moment.

A partial answer is that non-official Greece has for many months past been rendering its full quota of service to the Allied cause. The soldiers of the National Movement have been sharing the fortunes of war side by side with the Allied troops at Salonica, and Greek workmen in their thousands have been long engaged in trench-digging and road-making in the Near Eastern war-zone.

As to official Greece, it must not be expected that M. Venizelos will rush the country straightway into war. The Royalist régime has left Greece in ruins, and the work of national reconstruction must be his first care.

The public services must be purified and reorganized; especially must that be the case with the army. The elimination of those officers conspicuous for their devotion to the previous régime is an all-essential preliminary to the restoration of unity and discipline, and the munitions necessary for the equipment of an efficient army must be adequately replenished.

Patience must be exercised, both by the friends of Greece and by the Greeks themselves.

Former adherents, short-sighted partisans, and even some of his true friends, have blamed M. Venizelos for what they deemed to be his tardy action. They have doubted his wisdom and questioned his judgment and foresight. Nevertheless, sooner or later, he has always been able to give valid reasons for his action or abstention from action on any given occasion.

Having thrown in his lot with the Entente, M. Venizelos has scrupulously respected its wishes, even when those wishes cut straight through the interests of the movement which had constituted him its leader. That movement must not be "anti-dynastic," he was informed, so M. Venizelos restrained his followers from heading in the forbidden direction, with what difficulty those only who know the actual facts can fully realize. Harassed and hampered continually, he cheerfully pursued his way, doing everything that the thwarting restrictions permitted. Even when the Conference at Rome practically tied his hands by tending to limit the expansion of the national movement, he gracefully submitted and quietly prepared for the time when more freedom of action could be accorded.

Matthew Arnold used to say that when one was up against a closed door, to which one had no key, and which was beyond one's strength to force, it was the part of wisdom to wait until someone came by who could unlock it for you.

The Greek Premier never wastes his energies storming a position which he is powerless to carry, but like the poet, while directing his attention to more profitable ends, he awaits the hour when circumstances shall conspire with him to achieve the desired result, and hitherto he has rarely waited in vain.

One important effect of this wise waiting upon Fate or Providence is that when the *real psychological moment does arrive*, one finds oneself with unexhausted energies, full of the force and vigour requisite to cope with the situation effectually. *Le Journal des Hellènes*,\* August 5, 1917, published an in-

\* Published in Paris.



teresting conversation with two Greeks who had just arrived in Paris, and two of the questions bear upon the above observations :

“ ‘How long is it since you saw Mr. Venizelos?’

“ ‘It is just a week ago that we were talking with him.’

“ ‘Does he regard the present situation with optimism?’

“ ‘We have never seen him more optimistic. He is absolutely convinced of the triumph of the great idea for which he is contending.’

“ ‘Is he contemplating a general mobilization?’

“ ‘When the preparations are complete the various classes will be called. There is not the least doubt but that Greece in a very short space of time will be able to put in the field an army of some hundred thousand combatants’ (*quelques centaines de mille de combattants*).”

Many of the criticisms levelled against M. Venizelos by those who have nevertheless remained his sincere friends are due to the fact that these friends, lacking their leader’s patient foresight, frequently mistake some particular moment of time for the *true psychological one*, and thus become impatient, even indignant, with their leader’s presumed inactivity.

It goes without saying that a statesman cannot always take even his friends into his full confidence. But he is apt (as we all are) to endow others with his own attributes and knowledge. Thus he may forget that the public is deprived of the possession of facts that would enable it to gauge a given situation accurately; so he turns from its reiterated “Why? Why?” and like an irritated parent attributes to wilful perversity what is more often only a pathetic groping after light and understanding.

The intentions of M. Venizelos with regard to the participation of Greece in the war are most clearly stated by the writer of a letter received from Athens, dated July 7, 1917. The writer says :

"It is a great comfort to think that Greece is now at war with Germany, but I shall not be entirely satisfied until I see 200,000 Greek soldiers side by side with the Entente troops.

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"Some recent statements of Venizelos greatly pleased me. I recognized in them the true note . . . the language of the real Venizelos which I had expected from him two years ago and after. He said :

" 'I am not going to mobilize at once. Before I do so all military stores must be well replenished and also the country must desire mobilization. It may take three or four months before these *desiderata* are realized. I will then order mobilization, and if the country refuses to obey I will take up my hat and go.' " (From private letter signed P. E. Drakoules.)

## VI

It would not be wise, even were it possible, for M. Venizelos to embark upon war with opposition in the Chamber and lack of enthusiasm in the country. He is certain to meet with some opposition, as there must be a division of opinion between the old and the new politicians. If events in Europe uphold the position of those deputies who oppose the entry of Greece into the war, the opposition will be proportionately strengthened. But the Greeks are *par excellence* practical idealists. They accept *un fait accompli* with almost fatalistic acquiescence, and with Thucydides, "judge everything by the outcome."

The new King took the oath with all due formality and ceremony on the 4th of this month, and signed "the kingly covenant with a pen presented by M. Venizelos."

The speech from the throne contained, among other, the following notable utterances :

"The conditions upon which the transmission of the royal power was effected have clearly shown the path to be followed in the future. They rendered necessary the appeal to the national sovereignty so as to revise and

consolidate at the same time as the throne a form of government established on a basis demanded by the popular will.

"My Government, faithful to national tradition, has already given its foreign policy the orientation approved by the people at the elections of May 31, 1915, and ratified by the Chamber.

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"The heroism and self-sacrifice of the troops at the front are a most happy augury for the ultimate fate of united Greece, for they are evidences of the fine pride and gallantry of the Hellenic Army."

The King was loudly cheered and the proceedings terminated without incident, save that a protest was laid before the assembly by two Republican deputies.

As to the future of Greece, one may quote the words of M. Jonnart, who said: "That may well be left in the hands of M. Venizelos. For," added he, "in all my long career as a parliamentarian, I have met no statesman of more vivid foresight, or with a surer grip of the essentials of a country's progress;" and Europe can be glad with M. Jonnart that the general councils of the Allies will benefit by his presence at their conferences.

*(To be continued.)*

## OBITUARY NOTES

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### SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

IN Sir George Birdwood the world has lost the greatest authority of modern times on India. As pointed out by Dr. Pollen in his review of Sir George's book "Sva": "The Birdwoods have always been faithful servants of the State and true friends of India. Sir George's father—the late General Christopher Birdwood—held high command in India, and it will be long before the people of the Western Presidency can ever forget the gracious memory of Herbert Birdwood (Sir George's younger brother), the well-known and well-beloved Judge of the High Court of Bombay, and father of General Sir William Riddell Birdwood (Kitchener's right-hand man)."

Sir George himself was born at Belgaum in the Southern Mahratta country, on December 8, 1832. Belgaum means "Bamboo Town," so Sir George always regarded the Bamboo as his own "Tree of Life"; and the Ghat-praba (a tributary of the Kistna, near Belgaum) as his own "River of Life," although one may venture to surmise that the ready wit that welled up in him had almost certainly had an Hibernian-Batavian source, so delightfully Irish and Dutch were the alternate lights and shades. It might further be suggested that Sir George's "Tree of Life" had some affinity with the sugar-cane, which "has never yet been beet." Be that as it may, Sir George knew his Maharashtra well—its trees and streams and mountains and vales—and "the very heart of heart" of its people—the Scotch of India. In "The Mahratta Plough" he paid glowing tributes to the beauty of the land and the leading characteristics of its inhabitants.

But not only did Sir George know his Mahratta well, he knew also the Rajput, and faithfully has he told the tale of the Rajput's daring and virility, and shown how closely the redemption of Rajputana, as "a brand plucked from the burning," was associated with the ever-revered name of Colonel James Tod. He pointed out that, like the innumerable English youths "steeped in honour and discipline," who yearly yield up their lives in our Army and Navy as a last sacrifice to patriotism, the Rajputs, too, seek no reward for their daring. Their one desire is to experience "that

stern joy which warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel," in fighting for their hearths and homes.

An interesting light is thrown on Sir George's political views by the following quotation from the "Sva":

"Were I responsible for the Government of India," says Sir George, "I would at once place the Educational Department wholly in the hands of duly qualified Hindus, Muslims, and Parsees; the Judicial Department, three-fourths in their hands; and I would freely admit the Rajputs and members of other ruling classes and warrior castes into the higher commissions of the Imperial British Army up to one-third of officers required; and above all else, I would insist on developing, without let or stint, the illimitable reproductive resources of the country *pari passu* with the European education of the people."

From the same book we glean his views on the Great War, where Sir George hits the Hottentot-Hun heavily, and shows how false the Germans have proved to Aryan traditions "under the infection of psychical frenzy," and how they must now pay the penalty of their perfidy in the case of this fateful war, "stamped with the authentic and imperishable brand of 'Made in Germany'":

"By God and man dishonoured,  
By Death and Life made vain,  
Know ye the old Barbarian,  
The Barbarian come again."

But, as Mr. Lloyd George strikingly insists, never must the Barbarian come again. *Never again!* And we can have no "Made-in-Germany" Peace. It must be a real and lasting Peace—made once and for all.

Sir George Birdwood had attained the age of Peaceful Hindu Sainthood before he passed away in full possession of his faculties! And as has been well said: "In him an attractive and original personality has passed away. Among Anglo-Indians Sir George Birdwood had long occupied a unique place, even apart from his position as an authority on all matters pertaining to Indian art, mythology, literature, and history, on account of his intense sympathy with the people of India and a personal influence over them. Both at Bombay and at the India Office he originated many developments in the economic resources of India, which, though identified with other names, but for him would never have attained success. He was one of the makers of New Bombay, and he left an imperishable impress on the city, where his birthday was annually observed with rejoicing and his bust in the University Senate Hall regarded as a shrine."

J. P.

#### DEATH OF MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI

(*Resolution passed at a Council Meeting of the East India Association.*)

"This Council has heard with deep regret of the death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—the venerable Founder of the East India Association (and its oldest Member), and desires to convey to his family its sincere sympathy and condolences.

"From first to last Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was distinguished by un-

swerving loyalty to the Throne, by earnest devotion to the public interests and the welfare of India, by honesty of purpose, and by blameless integrity of life and character.

"More than half a century ago he opened the Proceedings of this Association with a loyal and temperate address on 'England's Duties to India'; and in what may be regarded as his last public utterance, delivered immediately on the outbreak of the present war, he strongly urged his fellow-countrymen to support to the best of their ability and power 'the British People in their glorious struggle for Justice, Liberty, Honour, and True Human Greatness and Happiness'; and he declared that 'until the victorious end of this great struggle, no other thought than that of supporting whole-heartedly the British Nation should enter into the mind of India.'

"The services which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has from time to time rendered this Association have been recorded in its Proceedings, and will be always gratefully remembered."—*True Extract.*

J. POLLEN,

*Honorary Secretary.*

## OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointments of Mr. James Herbert Bakewell, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. William Watkin Phillips, Indian Civil Service, to be Puisne Judges of the Madras High Court. The appointments have been made to fill vacancies created by an increase in the permanent strength of the Court from eight to ten Judges.

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*Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated July 17, 1917.*—Rainfall has been scanty in Sind, Rajputana, Gujarat, Central India (west), Bombay Deccan, Mysore and Malabar; fair in Bay Islands, Lower Burma, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces (west), Punjab (east and north), Baluchistan, Central India (east), Berar, Central Provinces, Konkan, and Madras (south-east); in excess in United Provinces (east), Punjab (south-west), Central Provinces (east), Hyderabad (north), and Madras Coast (north); normal elsewhere. Prospects are nearly normal.

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*Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue Department, dated July 24, 1917.*—Rainfall has been scanty in Chota Nagpur, Punjab (south-west), North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Rajputana (west), Gujarat, and Bombay Deccan; fair in Upper Burma, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Central Provinces (east), Madras (south-east), and Madras Deccan; normal in Lower Burma, United Provinces, Punjab (east and north), Berar, Mysore and Madras coast (north); in excess elsewhere. Prospects are normal.

*Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue Department, dated July 31, 1917 (received at India Office 11 p.m.).*—Rainfall has been scanty in Punjab (south-west), North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Gujarat, and Madras Deccan; fair in Bay Islands, Kashmir, Rajputana (west), Central India West, Berar, Central Provinces, Konkan, Bombay Deccan, and Mysore; normal in Upper Burma, Assam, Rajputana (east), Hyderabad, Malabar, and Madras (south-east); in excess elsewhere. Prospects are nearly normal.

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The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. H. Le Mesurier, C.S.I., C.I.E., to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, in succession to Sir E. V. Levinge, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., who will vacate office on November 1 next.



## NIRVANA

From the Russian of Dimitrie Sergeyevich Merezhkovsky.  
(Word for word Translation.)

ONCE more, as on Creation's day,  
Calm is the blue of Heaven . . .  
As if on earth no Pain held sway,  
No soul with sin were riven.  
I need no love—no glory crave—  
Mid hush of fields at dawn  
I breathe but as these grasses wave.  
Of days gone by—of days unborn—  
I take no heed—I reck not aught—  
I only feel, as erst of yore,  
What joy it is—to have no thought !  
What bliss—to yearn no more !

J. POLLEN.

## KITCHENER'S COUNTRY

THE hero sleeps beneath the northern wave,  
What message thunders from his sea-girt grave ?  
O mighty Mother, the great sons ye bore  
Have shown you what they deem worth dying for—  
England ! By all their stubborn battles fought  
May God forbid that they should die for naught.  
Britannia, be thyself with all thy powers  
The great memorial to these men of ours.  
So when the Allies' triumph shall betide  
Thou with thy sons and daughters shall abide  
To see New Heaven unfurling overhead,  
To hear New Earth uprising from the dead,  
To feel New Fellowship attune the twain,  
And intermingle Earth and Heaven again.

K. F. STUART.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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### OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

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#### THE NEAR EAST

TURKEY AND THE WAR. By Vladimir Jabotinsky. (*Fisher Unwin, Ltd.*)

Price 5s. net.

In the opinion of the present reviewer there are even now many well-informed members of the British Public who still fail to realize the fundamental reasons for which Germany provoked this war and the true reasons for which she is fighting. Since the accession of the present Emperor to the throne, that monarch has left no stone unturned to prepare the way for the great Germanic drive towards the East. For years prior to the outbreak of hostilities the secret hand of Berlin, acting through the mouth-piece of Vienna and screening his objects behind a nominally Balkan Policy, has really been working for the establishment of world power extending from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf—power to be realized not by domination in the Balkan Peninsula, but by converting the Balkan States into a corridor towards the goal, the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan.

It is this lack of understanding, and this impossibility of realizing that the enemy is prepared to make sacrifices in the West provided he can protect his after-the-war trade, and provided he can maintain a predominant position in the East, which make any volume dealing with Turkey in and after the war of the utmost utility. To us the value of the book at present under review is still more enhanced by the fact that it is written not by an Englishman, who must of necessity look at things through British spectacles, but by an author who really knows the Turks, and who has eyes to see and ears to hear things in a manner which is seldom attained by any foreigner who visits the Ottoman Empire.

M. Jabotinsky has divided his volume into four parts—"The Aim of this War," "The Inner State of Turkey," "Controversial Points of the Partition Scheme," and "The Main Front." In the first the author provides his readers with an able and far-seeing summary of the cause of the present conflagration—a conflagration which, he says, "owes its

birth directly and beyond doubt to the problem of the Near and Middle East." This being his idea, M. Jabotinsky develops it, and shows that "Austria sent the ultimatum to Serbia because she wanted to get nearer to the Turkish heritage in Asia Minor; and that Germany backed up Austria not because she was her only reliable Ally, but because of the 'battle-cry: Berlin—Baghdad.' In other words, the real cause of the Russo-German conflict was the problem of the future domination of Asia Minor."

Under the title, "The Inner State of Turkey," the author lays before us a masterly summary of the manner in and the reasons for which the Young Turkish Revolution was brought about, and a number of reasons for which the new state of things in the Ottoman Empire was as bad as, if not worse than, that which existed during the reign of Abdul Hamid. To one who knows the men who have been the makers of recent Turkish history, and to one who has actually been among them during the development of all-important events, this section of the volume is of especial interest, not so much because it provides any new information as because it balances up and weighs the value of facts in a manner which proves a true understanding of the mentality of the Oriental. Thus to take only one case, instead of accepting the common theory that various Turks, whose names have wrongly become bywords as those of men who controlled the destiny of the Empire, M. Jabotinsky takes, as an example of the spirit which permeated the average young Turk, Dr. Nazim—"the soul and the gist of the Committee of 'Union and Progress.'" In the opinion of the present writer, who knows this former student of medicine in Paris, and who has had several most charming conversations with him, the author is right in saying that, "by his strong will, by his cold fanaticism, and by his unbending one-sidedness," this man "influenced all the policy of the young Turkish Headquarters between 1909 and 1912."

It is impossible here to follow our Russian journalist in detail into what he says upon "Controversial Points of the Partition Scheme." Some of these points, such as the future of Constantinople and of the Straits, which are interdependent, have been considerably modified by the Russian Revolution, which obviously took place after the volume had gone to press. Others concerning the futures of Syria and of Palestine and the Arab aspirations are so delicate and so complicated that the reader must form his opinion of them by turning to the book itself. In a chapter entitled "The German Claim," too, the student of Near Eastern affairs will find himself provided with a very able treatise upon what may be the position of that Power in Turkey after the war, as also upon the future conditions which may prevail in what is now the Ottoman Empire.

Under the heading "The Main Front," the reader is furnished with a number of observations upon the meaning of sound strategy, and with some of the reasons which make Turkey, in the opinion of the author, "the main theatre of this war." Indeed, as the whole book is worthy of the most careful perusal and re-perusal, it seems a pity that its contents are spread over 264 largely printed pages, instead of having been compressed into a volume less bulky, which, with advantage, might have been published at a more moderate price than 5s.

H. C. W.

## RUSSIAN LITERATURE

GLIMPSES OF INNER RUSSIA. By Gustav Genrychovitch, Baron Taube. (*Simpkin, Marshall*). Price 1s.

We have derived especial pleasure from the perusal of these eight tales of Russian life. They are more modern than most collections of the kind that we have seen, and introduce figures which could only have come into existence within the last ten years. The reader will certainly derive a shrewd idea of the forces which have been at work in mighty Russia, and will understand the ferment which was inevitably bound to occur with such ingredients. The first, "Triffon the Postboy," is an uncanny narrative of a *naretskny* (river sprite) seen by the gallant postboy, though not by anyone else, and provides food for medical and psychological speculation. The captain in the second story shows that it is impossible for Russians to retaliate on their enemies by means of burning acids, slaying of wounded, and fire torture.

"A people with whom the worst of the criminals becomes *the unfortunate one* as soon as shackled and manacled, and then is an object of commiseration—such people cannot become guilty of cruelties and jeer at the sick and helpless; and the Germans and Austrians can be reassured: there will be no atrocities awaiting them on the part of the Russian soldiers."

A good account of a battle in the present conflict is given—"The Nocturne of Ivangorod." The most interesting, and the longest, is "The Social Reformer," in which the speculations young students have indulged in for some years are well indicated. The courage of the late Mr. Stolypin in facing a mob is mentioned. "You can kill me if you choose, but hear me you must." The jugglery over passports and frontier regulations is amusingly illustrated in "A Student's Love Affair." The hero of the last story, Anton Pozorkin, the worthy Minsk agriculturist, deserves all respect, and is wanted in every country. "May his tribe increase!" as with Abou ben Adhem. It is curious that a love *contretemps* should have set this good man on the search, practically and theoretically, for improved methods of cultivation, sowing and pruning by day and reading up treatises at night. He is delightfully happy in this work, besides benefiting his pocket and instructing his neighbours. Even the Count and Countess, little more than social butterflies, are converted by Anton's example, and, as she says, "we have to live with the times, and we are expected to be highly democratic nowadays." These words conclude the book.

Baron Taube helps the reader with transliteration and explanation of Russian names, but we would demur to some renderings. The hero of Gontsharov's novel may not be recognized at once in the phrase *à la Ablamoff*. This neglected and important study has not long been translated by Mr. C. J. Hogarth, who writes the closer form "Oblomov." Some critics see in this figure nearly all prominent Russians, as well as heroes of fiction like Pushkin's "Oniegin," Lermontov's "Petchorin," and Turgenev's "Bazarov," whom these critics call "superfluous men."

We wish this little book every success.

F. P. M.

THE EMIGRANT. By L. F. Dostoieffskaya, with an introduction by Stephen Graham. Translated by Vera Margolies. (*Constable and Co.*) London. Price, 5s. net.

I confess that I have always been partial to all that our great Dostoievski has written, and it is only natural that his daughter, as is shown in the present volume, has inherited some of his great attraction.

The story is a study of the mental struggles of a Russian woman who, in a fit of depression, leaves her native country, after the Japanese War, to live abroad. In Rome she is on the point of relinquishing her Orthodoxy and being drawn into Roman Catholicism, when she is rescued by a Russian nobleman who falls in love with her and proposes marriage. But man is faithless sometimes, and she, perhaps, "to give repentance to her lover and wring his bosom," committed suicide.

But if the end takes a somewhat unexpected turn, the whole is nevertheless an entrancing study of the propaganda spirit so characteristic among the Roman Catholics and so painfully lacking amongst the Greek Orthodox.

The excellent translation of this book reminds me involuntarily of the distinguished interpreter of Turgeniev, Mr. W. Rolleston, whose works should be read even now, as he has introduced to English readers that famous work, "Fathers and Sons," where Nihilism is so well personified in Basaroff. Had Nihilism been suppressed in Russia (whether such a step was feasible or not is a different question) the present political chaos could not have taken place. The Nihilist movement only indicated the hatred for religious principles and religious teaching which manifest themselves so often now in Russia. Miss Dostoievski's novel, "The Emigrant," only represents a young woman who does not realize the gravity of giving up her own Church, which she seems to have studied very little, and accepting the Roman Catholic faith, which she also knows very superficially, and which captivates her more by its exterior grandeur than by anything else. Of course, nobody can have a true idea of Russian literature unless he studies our great Russian classics, poets like Pushkin, Lermontoff, Tutchew, Homniakoff, and others, for the beautiful translation of which we must be grateful to Dr. Pollen. People must not forget that the study of Russian literature in our days is of very great importance, and we must duly appreciate all those who have contributed to that study. Miss Margolies' excellent book forms a part of Stephen Graham's interesting collection for those who want to study not only the classics, but also the modern writers.

OLGA NOVIKOFF.

## INDIA

INDIAN MORAL INSTRUCTION AND CASTE PROBLEMS: SOLUTION. By A. H. Benton, I.C.S. (retired). (*Longmans, Green and Co.*, 39, Paternoster Row, London.) 1917.

The argument raised in this book is one which, even in the midst of this greatest of wars, ought to arrest the immediate attention of the

Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, and his Educational Minister, Sir C. Sankaran Nair. It calls for an important reform in our educational system in India, for a reasonable change in our attitude towards the religions of the land, and it presses home the great truth that the Indian is not only an intellectual and a social, but also a religious being.

The Indian realizes more clearly than his brother of the West that he has been created to worship the Author of his being, his Creator. He thus needs not only an intellectual and a social, but also, in a very marked degree, a religious training. In his case at any rate ethical instruction without the aid of religion is impossible, and, seeing that there exist so many religions in India, it follows that some system must be devised whereby ethical instruction in consonance with the various religions of the pupils may be imparted.

Mr. Benton suggests such a system! He realizes that the home is the primal Church, that education really begins there, and that all outside instruction is merely supplementary. Thus, ethical training, to be effective, must accord with the religion of the home; for "moral teaching without religious sanctions has in India been found inefficacious."

Pupils must therefore be separated in order that ethical instruction, in accordance with the religions of each, may be imparted by agencies entirely independent of but working in close concert with the secular system. In order that this may be accomplished the State must boldly abandon its ill-defined policy of neutrality (which in practice has often proved non-neutral, and which has been constantly violated in the Department of Education) and adopt the broader and nobler system of "mutual religious toleration," the most glorious boon the English race has succeeded in bestowing on humanity.

Such a system would appeal much more forcibly to the peoples of India than the indifference implied in the neutrality policy, for Indians are by no means lacking in amenability to mental culture. On the contrary, they are, as Mr. Benton points out, "kindly, docile, alert, keen-spirited, and, high and low, one of the best-mannered people in the world," and they offer a very promising field for right spiritual treatment. Under British rule no such treatment has ever been accorded, and no attempt to afford facilities for such treatment has ever been made by the British Government! In the Court of Directors Despatch of 1854 (the Magna Charta of Indian Education) not only is religious instruction in Government Schools and Colleges prohibited, but no provision is made for ethical training of any kind anywhere. It seems to have been assumed that to insure moral progress, improvement of the intellect alone was quite sufficient.

Macaulay declared that "complete neutrality in matters of religion ought to be sacredly preserved," but at the same time he thought it proper for the Government, under the badge of neutrality, to initiate operations which he firmly believed would uproot the Hindu religion among the respectable classes in thirty years. Writing to his father from Calcutta on October 12, 1836, he says: "It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up there will not be a single

idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence; and this will be effected without any effort to proselytize, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the prospect."

The Rev. Alexander Duff (who was sent out to Calcutta as a Missionary by the Church of Scotland in 1830), on the other hand, held the view that if in India the people were given *knowledge* without religion, "all who received the Government education would become infidels and anarchists."

Both prophets happily turned out to be wrong; and Mr. Benton holds that the reason why they were wrong is that they could form no idea of the resistance to change offered by the caste system; a system which had "a primeval foundation quite independent of religion," but which the Hindu Priesthood approved and embraced as if it had been a creation of their own, which it certainly was not. Mr. Benton shows that the caste system is as old as agriculture, and was designed for the adjustment of sexual relations. Under the caste system the Hindu community (more than two-thirds of the whole population) is divided into sections which are precluded by rules prescribed by themselves from all social intercourse with each other or with outsiders. The members of these sections may not eat, drink, smoke, or intermarry with any person outside the section to which they themselves belong. This is the caste system, and Mr. Benton proposes to use this system to the largest possible extent for ethical purposes by engaging the services of the caste authorities. The system is regarded very generally and by all Hindus as a purely religious institution, but Mr. Benton proposes to utilise caste associations in ethical education, for "caste rules generally pay fair regard to good morals, and are specially designed to promote morality." For this and for many other reasons it would appear advisable not to sanction any measures for moral instruction without careful consideration of their bearing on caste or without consultation with the caste authorities. Mutual toleration in religious matters has always been the practice in India, so far as Hindus are concerned. The author therefore trusts that the scheme he proposes may be found practicable, and he believes that it might be greatly improved by deeper spiritual insight and the opportunity of nearer and closer co-operation with the leaders of the Indian caste communities whose young people are to be provided with an outfit for the journey of life. As has been well said, "in the training of the young in India under Hindu control no rigid line has ever existed between secular culture and religion; they are one and indivisible. From birth to death religion permeates every moment of existence in Hindu life."

What Mr. Benton proposes to do is to utilize caste administration for secular training, just as it has been utilized in the past by the Priesthood for religious purposes; textbooks for use in all schools, primary and secondary, and for colleges, being compiled by committees of the various religious communities appointed for the purpose.

J. POLLEN.

## BIOGRAPHIES

A SOLDIER'S MEMOIRS IN PEACE AND WAR. By Major-General Young-husband. (*Herbert Jenkins, Ltd.*, Arundel Place, Haymarket, London. 1917.)

The volume before us might perhaps be described as "a rally" or résumé of disjointed memories, as brilliant but as confused as an irregular cavalry charge! But, though touch is sometimes lost, excellent headway is made. It is full of good stories and interesting experiences, and the Author has some amusing things to tell of the famous men and women he has met. But the central point brought out is that these famous men and women have all met *him*. It is true that the constant use of "I" has been skilfully skirted, but "me," or its equivalent, constantly crops up and, although the work does not pretend to be an autobiography, still, most of the tale is told about the First Person accusative.

Thus, King Edward, sitting beside *him* at Sandringham, notices the absence of one of his many medals; the Prince of Wales recognizes him amongst a crowd assembled at a railway station (although he was "not seven feet high nor seven feet round the waist"), and the Prince draws the attention of the Princess to his presence; Lord Roberts, "wearing a top hat," although he had not seen *him* for seven years, detects him looking into a London shop-window, and Lord Kitchener cleaves his way through a Ducal crush at Welbeck, and, while everyone looks on, grasps his hand and "buries the hatchet."

It appears Kitchener never liked *him* "probably because he did not see eye to eye with him in India, and Kitchener could not tolerate anyone disagreeing with him."

Comparing Roberts with Kitchener, the Author says: "Both were born British, but one developed into the highest type of English gentleman, the other acquired more Teutonic characteristics. It would therefore be somewhat difficult for an 'honest' admirer of Lord Roberts to be an equally honest admirer of Lord Kitchener."

"In Manilla and the Philippines Admiral Dewey, and in America the Roosevelts, could not make too much of *him*, but he really can't remember whether at Clifton he kicked Sir Douglas Haig as his fag or not.

But, apropos of this forgetfulness, he recalls "rather a shocking affair" that occurred at Umballa a year or so before the Boer War, and he devotes three pages to the tale.

Now, the story of the silly Sandhurst duel with which the book opens, and the somewhat tedious details of other "light adventures," may be excused; but it is hardly possible to imagine anything more utterly futile than the account of this so-called "shocking affair" at Umballa! The tale is all about an outgoing General's silly wife, who refused to vacate the General's house or part with the General's flagstaff in response to the entreaties and ejecting manœuvres of a still more silly incoming General and his wife; and the only shocking thing about the whole affair is that such a story should be perpetuated in print. The impression produced by this and other similar stories in this book is one of wonder at the small



amount of wit with which the World—especially the Military World—is ruled.

Still, when it comes to tell of fighting in the Khyber Pass, and good work done in Burmah, adventures in the Boer War, and how Frontier officers carry their lives in their hands, the book makes stirring reading; and the particulars it gives of "mess customs" and of "some few Victoria Crosses" are certainly interesting.

But when, again, the Cavalry Officer deals with the India problem, paternal government, and law and lawyers, he gives full rein to his contempt for the Indian Intellectuals and Babudom in particular.

He speaks of the unsuccessful Indian lawyers as "poisonous polluters of the political atmosphere," and he ridicules a poor Babu as one of those "people who for some years appear to have seriously shaken the nerves of the Government of India."

At the same time, he admits that "some Indians have many great and lovable qualities"; he pays a glowing tribute to Sir Pertab Singh, and gives instances of the devotion of native officers and others to the Younghusband family.

Thus though from his own personal experience he comes to the very definite but quite unsupported conclusion that "the Indian cannot govern himself even in small local affairs," yet he has no doubt that "when India is ripe for self-government, then, in accordance with her precedents and history England will gladly lay down the burden of government and launch another enlightened nation to sail the seas alone."

J. P.

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A GENERAL'S LETTERS TO HIS SON. By "X. Y. Z.," with a Preface by General Sir H. L. Smith-Dorrien. (*Cassell and Company, Ltd.*) Price, 1s. net.

In referring to these excellent letters, General Smith-Dorrien says with much truth that they "give all necessary information, and if young officers will only study them carefully and shape their conduct accordingly, they need have no fear of proving unworthy of His Majesty's commission." The author is a General with matured and disciplined experience, who has considerable spiritual insight and grasp of understanding. In his third letter he tells his son to be sensible and content to take together the rough and smooth, the bitter and sweet. He knows that these things make the man and the athlete. Beaumarchais beautifully says in his "Memoirs": "The variety of pains and pleasures, of fears and hopes, is the freshening breeze that fills the sails of the vessel and sends it gaily on its track." I heard a man say once that he had had great trials, and with the blessing of heaven he hoped to have some more of them. It was a bold expression, perhaps overbold, but still he saw into the kernel of this mystery and problem of reverse and misfortune. The whole story of success in war consists in the capacity of men being knocked down and picking themselves up afterwards.

I like the moral of these letters, for they remind me of that famous seventh book of Thucydides, which Dr. Arnold loved so much, which

showed how the invaded became the invaders and the Athenians were overcome on their own element. This is the way in which the Romans obtained the supremacy of the world. Englishmen have never known when they have been beaten. The great merit of Stanley was that he never knew himself conquered; as often as he was knocked down he picked himself up again. Those fights, day and night, with some thirty tribes of savages, and worse fights with some thirty raging whirlpools of waters, are fine examples of indomitable pluck. But in the whole history of human activity, in every department in life, wherever there is true vitality the knock-down is rather disciplinary and restorative than any absolute defeat.

OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

### DUBLIN PAST AND PRESENT

REMINISCENCES OF SIR CHARLES A. CAMERON, C.B. Illustrated.

Dublin: *Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd.* (publishers to the University);

London: *Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Ltd.*

As the record of a period fast vanishing, these *Reminiscences*, first published in 1913, are of decided historical value. Simple and direct, they throw a vivid light upon the life and society of Dublin during the past century.

Charles Alexander Cameron was born in Dublin in the year 1830, and is the only surviving son of Ewen Cameron, who "served with distinction in the Peninsular War and in the expedition to the United States in 1812, and was severely wounded eight times."

Sir Charles was intended for the army, but, after the death of his father, studied chemistry to such good purpose that he was elected Professor of the Dublin Chemical Society when only twenty-two years of age. Five years later he published his "*Chemistry of Agriculture*," and had before and since then continuously lectured and written, editorially and otherwise, so that he is responsible for hundreds of addresses and a prodigious number of pamphlets and papers on agricultural chemistry, vegetable physiology, hygiene, and allied subjects, which have attracted world-wide attention on account of their originality as well as their general utility. These writings, as well as the *Reminiscences*, are full of evidences of their author's sense of humour, and explain why the Duchess of Connaught is reported to have said that Sir Charles was the most amusing man she had met in Ireland. He certainly possesses an inexhaustible store of anecdotes, and enjoys fun at his own expense as much as, if not more than, when directed against his fellows.

In 1882, in addition to his numerous other appointments, the Corporation of Dublin placed the whole of its sanitary department under his control, and through his efforts thousands of wretched habitations have been swept away or rendered fit for human occupation. When the freedom of the City of Dublin was conferred upon him in 1911, one of the speakers at the ceremony said "it was not because of Sir Charles's charity, not because he was a Unionist or a Protestant, but because he believed Sir

Charles had done more than a man's part in trying to combat disease in Dublin, that they wished to honour him." Had Sir Charles been efficiently backed up, said the same speaker, he would have achieved more even than he had already done "to lift from the city its notoriety of having the highest death-rate in Europe."

The honour of knighthood was bestowed upon him in 1885 as a recognition of "his scientific researches and his services in the cause of public health."

Ex-President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, he has been Vice-President of the Institute of Chemistry of Great Britain and Ireland since 1884. His greatest work, a "History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and of the Irish Schools of Medicine," was published in 1886, and a new edition is forthcoming by request. His writings have been widely translated, appearing even in the Japanese, Finnish, and Danish languages.

Sir Charles possesses a remarkable memory. One of his earliest recollections was that of being taken, when only four years old, to see an old woman who, as a little girl, had seen the Macdonalds withdrawing from the Battle of Culloden—a link with the past which affords him peculiar pleasure, since his ancestors were adherents of the Royal Family of the Stuarts.

He remembers the severe Lenten fasts, when the abstinence from flesh food caused so much distress, among those employed in the meat trade, that they formed processions through the town to collect money on their own behalf. An ass, whose back was covered by a cloth on which was painted a white cross, was one of the processionists, many of whom wore fantastic garments. Week-end journeys were unheard of, periodical holidays were limited to a few of the business and professional classes; while the working classes had no holidays but those which they took at their own expense, nor had they any half-days off!

Yet Donnybrook Fair had its thousands of visitors, among whom the writer rarely failed to put in an appearance, and small wonder, seeing that it was a boy's paradise—a rendezvous of all that was most renowned in the way of "acrobats, actors, giants, dwarfs, and travelling shows of all kinds."

"The Irishman all in his glory was there,  
With his sprig of shillelagh and shamrock so green,"

and woe to the luckless wight whose head happened to indent, from the inside, the canvas covering of one of the crowded refreshment tents. As likely as not he would receive a blow, none too gentle, on his unlucky cranium from the shillelagh of some passer-by!

Of special interest at the moment are the short sections dealing with "How the Dublin Poor Live," "The Earnings of the Poor," and "The Diet of the Poor." They throw light on certain aspects of the Irish Question, and make one desire some speedy solution.

Sir Charles Cameron has never concerned himself much with political affairs; but when asked what were his views on the subject of Home Rule, he replied: "I take no prominent part in politics, but I may say

this much: I would not like to be thrust outside of our glorious Empire"—a sentiment shared by many of his less distinguished but equally patriotic fellow-countrymen.

F. R. S.

## ORIENTALIA

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSSULMAUNS OF INDIA. By Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali. Second edition, edited with notes and an introduction by W. Crooke. (*Oxford University Press*. 1917.) Price 6s.

The nineteenth century has witnessed in several countries of the world a revolution in social manners and customs and in the general outlook upon life, which makes the breach between successive generations appear to be one not of decades, but of centuries. Fortunately there have been contemporary writers who have bequeathed to us living pictures of this vanished epoch, of whom two only need be mentioned here. In his "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," Edward W. Lane put on record such a vivid representation of Egyptian life just before European influence swept the survivals of medievalism almost entirely away, that his work has become a classic. For Papal Rome, W. W. Story in his "Roba di Roma" performed a like service, and described minutely a society that ceased to exist when the King of Italy transferred his capital from Florence to the banks of the Tiber. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's book is not to be compared to either of these in vividness of characterization or minuteness of detail; she had none of the genius of either Lane or Story; but no other writer has left for us so intimate and sympathetic account of Musalman society in the early part of the nineteenth century. Her book has long been out of print, and copies have not been easily procurable. Mr. W. Crooke has done a service for which students of Muhammadan India will be grateful to him, in placing within their reach this carefully edited reprint of a work so frequently quoted.

If Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's book has one fault, it is its diffuseness; it ranges over religion, history, literature, architecture, folklore, social customs, natural history, and many other subjects; the different parts of it are consequently of unequal value, but it thereby makes an appeal to a wider circle of readers, and the obvious interest of the author in her subject-matter communicates itself to the reader of her pages. The serious student will be able to find much of the subject-matter of her book presented in fuller detail and with larger knowledge in the works of later and more erudite writers—e.g., for the popular religion and folklore of Northern India the writings of Mr. W. Crooke are indispensable. But no English author has left us such an attractive picture of the old-fashioned Muhammadan gentleman of the period, devout, well-read, courtly in manners. It is to be regretted that Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali did not fulfil her intention of writing "a more circumstantial account" of her father-in-law, Mir Haji Shah; but she has given a brief sketch of his life, which forms one of the most interesting chapters of the book. In it she writes of him: "I can only regret my inability to do justice to the bright character of

my revered father-in-law, whose conduct as a devout and obedient servant to his Maker ruled his actions in every situation of life, and to whom my debt of gratitude is boundless, not only for the affectionate solicitude invariably manifested for my temporal comforts, but for an example of holy living. This much-valued friend of mine was the mouth of wisdom to all with whom he conversed, . . . whilst he riveted attention by his gentle manners and well-selected form of words. . . . His form was finely moulded, his height above six feet, his person erect, even in age, his fine cast of countenance beamed with benevolence and piety, and his dark eye either filled with tears of sympathy or, brightening with joy, expressed both superior intelligence and intensity of feeling. His venerable flowing beard gave a commanding majesty to the figure before me, whilst his manners were graceful as the most polished even of European society. . . . I never saw him idle; every moment was occupied in prayer or in good works. . . . He possessed an intelligent mind, highly cultivated by travel, and a heart beaming with tenderness and universal charity.” Of her husband Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali does not tell us so much as of her father-in-law, but Mr. Crooke’s patient investigations have collected a good deal of information about him, from the time when he became (in 1810) assistant to John Shakespear, Professor of Hindustani at the East India Company’s Military College, Addiscombe, until his death in 1863. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali appears to have left her husband about 1828 and returned to England; but the circumstances of the case are obscure, and little is known of her life after her arrival in England. She appears, however, to have carried away with her the happiest recollections of her life in India, as is shown by her enthusiastic account of the country and its people.

T. W. ARNOLD.

#### ARTICLES TO NOTE

- “Albania and the Albanians,” by Ismail Kemal Bey (*Quarterly*, July).  
 “Some Elements of the Russian Revolution,” by Paul Vinogradoff.  
 “India: Simla and the Commission’s Report,” by Asiaticus (*National*, August).  
 “Thoughts on the Russian Revolution,” by Stephen Graham (*London Quarterly*, July).  
 Mesopotamia: (i.) “The Recent Military Policy of the Government of India,” by Major-General F. C. Beatson, C.B.; (ii.) “The Tragedy of an Impossible System,” by Everard Cotes (*Nineteenth Century*, August).  
 “The Trials of Russia,” by C. Hagberg Wright, LL.D.; “Albania Austria Italy Essad,” by O. de L. (*Contemporary*, August).  
 “The Philosophic Basis of the Russian Revolution,” by Dr. A. S. Rappoport (*Edinburgh*, July).  
 “Egypt in War-Time,” by Sir Malcolm McIlwraith; “Baghdad Railway in the War,” by H. Charles Woods; “A Yugoslav Federation,” by Col. Sir Thomas Holdich; “The Mesopotamian Breakdown,” by G. M. Chesney (*Fortnightly Review*, August).

- "Science and the War," by Sir Bertram Windle (*Dublin Review*, July).  
 "A Conscience Clause in Indian Schools," by the Rev. W. S. S. Holland (*The East and the West*, July).  
 "La Serbie," by G. Labouchère (*La Nouvelle Revue*, August).  
 "Tolerance from a Russian Point of View," by Baron Heyking (*Hibbert Journal*, July).  
 "The Solution of the Russian Problem" (III.), by F. R. Scatcherd (*Review of Reviews*, August).

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

## ORIENTALIA.

Annual Report of the Archæological Dept., 1915-1916. Government Press; rs. 9d. "Etudes Orientales et Religieuses," by Edouard Montet. Preface by Professor Fulliquet. George and Co., Geneva; Fischbacher, Paris.

## INDIA.

"Early Revenue History of Bengal and the 5th Report," by F. D. Ascoli, M.A. Oxford University Press; 4s. net. "Indian Moral, Industrial, and Caste Problems," by A. Burton. Longmans; 4s. 6d. "Memoirs of Sir W. Mack," by his wife. Oxford University Press; 6s. 6d. "Forty Years in Burma," by Rev. Mr. Marks. Hutchinson and Co.; 10s. 6d. net.

## GENERAL.

"The Year-Book of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony," 1917. The Wireless Press, Ltd.; 3s. 6d. net. "The Making of the Future," by Patrick Geddes and V. Branford. Williams and Norgate; 5s. net.

## LANGUAGES.

"A Malay Reader," by V. Winstedt. Oxford University Press; 7s. 6d. net. "The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia," by Rev. J. Van Ess. Oxford University Press; 4s. 6d. net.

## THEOLOGY.

"Comparative Religion," by A. S. Geden, D.D. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; 2s. net. "What Every Man and Woman should Know about the Bible," by S. C. Tapp. Kansas City; \$2.

## NEAR EAST.

"Palestine," by A. M. Hyamson. Sidgwick and Jackson; 10s. 6d. net.

## FAR EAST.

"The Beginnings of Porcelain in China," by Berthold Lanfer. Vol. xv. No. 2. Field Museum of National History. "China: her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce," by E. H. Parker (Revised and Enlarged Edition); 10s. 6d. net.

## MIDDLE EAST.

"A Message from Mesopotamia," by the Hon. Arthur Lawley. Hodder and Stoughton; 2s. 6d. net.

## RUSSIA.

"Russian Poets and Poems," vol. i. (Classics), by N. Jarintzov. Blackwell, Oxford; 10s. 6d. net.

## THE BOOK WORLD

The Anglo-Hellenic League of London has shown great activity lately in publishing instructive booklets on the situation in Greece, including the Address of Alexander Diomedes delivered in the Great Hall of King's College, a Summary of Questions in Parliament on the Greek Problem, and a Roll of Honour of the Hellenic Community in London.

The late Professor James Hope Moulton, it will be remembered, died from exposure after the vessel which was bringing him home from India had been torpedoed. He was one of three English scholars—the others were Dr. T. R. Glover and Professor G. L. Leonard—who were invited by the Indian National Council of the Y.M.C.A., in the autumn of 1911, to spend a year of study in India. Dr. Moulton, whose Iranian studies had already given him all the scientific preparation necessary, had agreed to write a volume for the Religious Quest of India series, edited by Dr. J. N. Farquhar and Dr. H. D. Griswold, on the Parsee religion; and while still in India he wrote "The Treasure of Magi: a Study of Modern Zoroastrianism," and, happily, had three typewritten copies prepared. One of these copies was posted to his brother and reached England; the original lies at the bottom of the Mediterranean. Mr. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, hopes to publish the volume early in the autumn.

## SHORTER NOTICES

POLAND PAST AND PRESENT. By J. H. Harley, M.A. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*)

If "intellectual honesty" has ever been applied in a book on Poland by a British writer, Mr. Harley has certainly done a man's share. For it cannot be easily overlooked that his book, which breathes so much genuine and passionate ardour in favour of the Polish independence, had been written *before* the exigencies of war had compelled the Allies to a similar attitude. . . .

But not only in this respect has the author gained for himself the right to be suspected of the (somewhat scarce nowadays) prophetic mind of a poet. For if on the one hand his proved disinterestedness of thought has led him to the conclusion that for a satisfactory solution of the Polish affairs there is only one remedy available, and that is a complete restitution of Poland as an independent State, free from Germany and Austria *as well as* from Russia, so on the other hand the ways and means

the author has employed in order to present the Polish situation to the British public, and to convince his readers of the non-existence of any other solution, are full of poetic qualities.

The book reads like poetry indeed. But in fairness to Mr. Harley and to Poland I must add that from the first page to the last this poetry speaks of facts, facts, and facts, as unpleasant (sometimes) as they are hard. The chapter on Britain and Poland is full of most arresting parallels and striking ideas.

Polish history and Polish art and literature have been mastered with an amazing aptitude and ease. But what is altogether astounding is the unprecedented (for a non-Pole and, moreover, non-Slav!) understanding of the inner workings and undercurrents of Polish national life, of the Polish Psyche.

This fact is as astounding as it is gratifying: not merely (as it should be) to the English-reading world, but also to the Polish-feeling world, which renders it distinctly rare.

For those whom poetry leaves cold there is in Mr. Harley's book a chapter on the economical possibilities of an independent Poland which makes even the boldest opponents stagger.

The book is not one line too long, and can be easily dealt with in one afternoon, even by the slowest reader, like—myself.

G. M. SWIETOWSKI.

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IN GERMAN GAOLS. By E. F. Spanton, U.M.C.A., Principal of St. Andrew's College, Zanzibar. Preface by Sir H. H. Johnston (S.P.C.K.)

The gaols were in German East Africa, and the prisoners were peaceful missionaries in the field, formerly in friendly relations with the German officials. Sir H. H. Johnston writes in his Preface of the help he received from the linguistic works of Bishop Steere, and the great assistance afforded by missionaries when treaties were negotiated. The natives were greatly impressed by the courtly bearing of the Bishops and clergy. Sir Harry is just towards the merits of more than one German Governor, mentioned by name, but is of opinion that natives should be consulted about their future after the war, and thinks it extremely unlikely that they will wish to pass under German control again.

Mr. Spanton is free from rancour and prejudice, in spite of the bitter and clumsy persecution endured by members of the Universities' Mission until the Belgian troops entered Tabora. Overcrowding, food shortage, useless paper money, insanitary conditions, long marches—all these were stoutly endured. German Christianity was not apparent to the African mind, and the reason is thus explained:

"The State is everything, the individual is nothing (but a nuisance to be suppressed), is a German axiom, and explains to some extent the failure of German colonial government and its unfitness to rule weak and helpless peoples. The difficulty which my boys experienced in believing that Germans could be Christians needs perhaps little comment."



Sense of humour in a German is "almost as ill-developed as his sense of justice," and accused persons were regarded as guilty until they could prove themselves innocent, for which facilities were not afforded. The "fall of Calais" was repeatedly celebrated, and fictitious German victories were trying to the nerves of Mr. Spanton and his comrades. He speaks in high terms of the Christian kindness shown by the Roman Mission of the White Fathers under the Bishop of Tabora. In the last chapter the opinion is forcibly expressed that the country must not fall under German sway again. General Smuts is apprehensive of the fate of the unfortunate natives if their former lords should return. For the sake of British prestige, the Mission cause, and native welfare, this must not be. This little volume is provided with illustrations of the Zanzibar students, Tabora fort, and incidents of the missionaries' captivity and release.

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THE MEMOIRS OF A BALKAN DIPLOMATIST. By Count C. Mijatovich.  
(Cassell.) Price, 16s. net.

Count Mijatovich, a well-known diplomatic figure, who has served his country as Minister in London and Constantinople and as Finance Minister in Belgrade, here gives us a volume of his varied experiences. Many will recall his excellent work entitled the "History of Serbia," which for the first time placed before English readers a connected account of the contribution that Serbia has made to European civilization by her resistance to the Turkish invasion. We may mention in this connection that the Marquis of Salisbury in a conversation with the author innocently asked what contribution Serbia had made to history. Though Count Mijatovich could point to the many achievements of Serbia in the past, her noble part in the present war is, we trust, not in danger of a similar oblivion in the minds of our statesmen.

These memoirs do not pretend to be a connected account of the history of Serbia, but they certainly are a contribution to the Near Eastern question. If they aimed at covering the whole ground of recent Balkan occurrences we might be disposed to feel disappointment at his absence of reference to such great personalities as Hartwig and Count Ignatieff. He describes how he handled his country's cause at the peace of Bucarest after the Serbo-Bulgarian war, wherein he showed extraordinary diplomatic skill. Another interesting chapter is devoted to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. But he is at his best when he repudiates the Austrian assertions that Serbia began the European War, and he points out that when he went to the United States last year he found that the Austrian Consulates had disseminated anti-Serbian accusations so diligently that there was in fact a serious volume of opinion there attributing the assassination of the Archduke to a plot hatched in Belgrade.

His description of Abdul Hamid will, we think, surprise many readers, and he tells an excellent story of Turkish procrastination. Diplomacy, he reminds us, consists in compromise; and every page of the book breathes moderation. The book will be appreciated by a wide circle of readers.

MAHOMET, FOUNDER OF ISLAM. By G. M. Draycott. (London : Martin Secker, 1916.)

There are some books in regard to which one wonders why authors take the trouble to write them, or publishers go to the expense of printing them. The work under review comes under this category. The author has apparently consulted no original sources, and his ignorance of Arabic may be judged from such spellings as *Hadaaz*, *Muhajerim*, and *Amir-al-Momirim*. He has nothing to add in the way of facts, and the point of view adopted is that of Christian orthodoxy, and the biography of the Prophet has been so often written from this standpoint, notably by Sir William Muir (on whose "Life of Mahomet" the author seems chiefly to rely) and Professor Margoliouth, that there seems to be no justification for a compilation that lacks any features of originality. The author is quite ignorant of the great mass of scholarly work, in the way of sifting materials and estimating the value of conflicting sources, which has been done in recent years. His general ignorance of the religion of the Prophet may be judged from such remarks as these : " His position in religion and philosophy is substantially the position of all his followers ; none have progressed beyond the primary thesis he gave to the Arabian world at the close of his career " ; Islam he describes as " a faith, at root incomprehensible by reason of its aloofness from the advancing streams of modern thought—a faith spiritually impotent, since it flees from mysticism."

T. W. A.

To a recent issue of the *Poetry Review* Mrs. N. C. Sen (Ranee Mrinalini) contributes a noteworthy Appreciation of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, from which we take the following extracts :

" He was almost a second Shrikrishna amongst us in Bengal. Shrikrishna in our mythology was an incarnation of God's loving aspect, who in his young days played on a wonderful flute and held everyone spellbound ; the women of Brindaban forgot all their daily cares and sorrow, and went out to adore the charmer in all weathers and in all time, whenever they heard him play ! Rabindra Nath Tagore also plays on a wonderful flute ; he has been playing on it for over forty years, but never has he played the same tune twice over. He never repeats himself either in words or thoughts, nor in rhyme or rhythm. New thoughts with him always seem to come out clothed in new garbs."

" If his love poems and patriotic songs and other writings have stirred the hearts of the young and given them inspiration, his sacred songs and sermons have done even more. They have healed many a wound ; they have brought peace and comfort to the stricken ones, young and old. They are sung and read in all our churches ; they take us nearer to God ; they give us moral strength to face the trials of life, and help us to rise above them all."

" He has a great admiration and reverence for Christ and His teachings, and also for Mahomet and Buddha, although a believer of the high doctrines of our Upanishad and Vedas, and belongs to an Indian

Theistic Church called Brahmo Samaj. The truth is he believes in one universal religion, which has for its keystone the absolute goodness of God."

## INDIA AND COTTON

(A CANADIAN VIEW)

Let us repeat that India is not, of course, a self-governing Colony, as Canada was in 1859; but she is a partner of ours in this world-conflict. It is largely by the aid of her splendid troops that we are able at this moment to rejoice over the conquest of Bagdad. Because of her comradeship with us on the battlefields of Europe and Asia she has been given a new status within the British Empire, and her formal representation at the Imperial Conference is a witness of that fact. In the face of all this how can England go on treating India as a mere adjunct of Lancashire? How can India be denied that most elementary right, to say what type of fiscal policy best fits her conditions and aims? Let action be deferred till the Imperial Conference has declared itself, say some of the Lancashire spokesmen. We cannot conceive it possible that the Dominions' representatives at the Conference would fail in sympathy with India's attitude. Rather would they be inclined to say that the true Imperialism is to bring India into the arena of Imperial Preference, so that as members of one Empire we may make our unity a far more effective support for the ideals we cherish.—*Canadian Gazette*.





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